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## EDITORIAL COMMENT

The National Budget  
for 1926-27

On December 9 President Coolidge transmitted to Congress the national budget for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1926, together with his annual budget message. This is the fifth budget prepared by the bureau of the budget under the direction of the president. The contents and arrangement of this document show considerable improvement over the first budget. The budget information as now compiled is more complete, and it is gathered under a uniform expenditure classification promulgated by the comptroller general's office.

The president's budget message has become the most important feature of the budget from the standpoint of the public. To this message the taxpayer may turn and in a short time get a general picture of the finances and the fiscal policy of the national government as presented by the president. For this reason, the message which accompanied the recent budget was widely printed in the newspapers of the country.

The national budget for 1926-27 has been fixed at \$3,896,207,921, including the postal expenditures. This is \$154,420,800 more than the estimated expenditures for the current year. Excluding the postal expenditures, which it is estimated will exceed by \$37,-

100,000 the postal revenues, the estimated expenditures of the budget year are higher than those of the current year by \$50,600,000. This represents largely an increase in the departmental and operating expenditures of the national government. Only a few of the departments and independent offices have had their expenditures for the budget year decreased below those of the current year. The largest reductions have been made in the expenditures of the department of the interior and the shipping board: these amount to slightly over \$10,000,000 in each case. The majority of the departments and agencies are allotted increases over the budget of the current year. These increases are comparatively small except in two instances: the veterans' bureau gets an increase of \$53,000,000 and the navy department an increase of \$20,000,000.

The receipts of the national government for the budget year are estimated at \$3,824,530,200, exclusive of postal receipts. The excess of receipts over proposed expenditures for this year is \$330,307,800.

One of the most significant statements in President Coolidge's budget message is that the budget has practically reached the minimum of post-war expenditures necessary to carry on "the legitimate business of government."

His conclusion is that "the normal expansion of the business of government in keeping pace with a growing nation will involve added expenditure from year to year." If this be true, can we hope for further tax reduction after this year when the present surplus will have been consumed? Of course, the interest on the public debt is gradually shrinking, the postal revenues may increase to equal the expenditures of the postoffice department, and the government's policy of aid in state highway construction may be modified. These things should tend to keep the total expenditures down for a while.

Assuming that the ordinary civil expenditures of the national government have reached a post-war minimum, it is interesting to note the relation they now bear to those for the same purposes in 1916. The *Statistical Abstract* for 1924, prepared by the bureau of foreign and domestic commerce, lists the ordinary civil expenditures (p. 147) as being \$199,555,000 in 1916 and \$1,047,270,000 in 1924. The expenditures for the war and navy departments, the Indians, pensions, postal deficiencies, and interest on the public debt are excluded. On the basis of these figures, the expenditures for civil purposes in 1924 are more than five times the amount of such expenditures in 1916. After having adjusted the 1924 figures to the pre-war price level of 1916, the expenditures for civil purposes in 1924 are three and one-half times that of 1916. The proposed expenditures for these purposes in the 1926-27 budget stand at about the same level as in 1924. And this, apparently, is the final result of five years' effort on the part of the administration with the assistance of the budget bureau to reduce the expenditures of the national government for civil purposes.

Are political bosses getting thin skinned?  
Political Bosses and the Phantom Public

Walter Lippmann thinks they are, especially the younger set of Tammany leaders. He gives his reasons for thinking so in an article contained in this issue, which is abstracted from his Pittsburgh speech to the members of the National Municipal League and other agencies.

Mr. Lippmann follows the theme of his recent book on "The Phantom Public." He shows that a knowledge of the details of government and a sustained interest in public affairs is now practically beyond the ken of everyone. "The best anyone can do is to know a little about something and very little about the rest." If this be true, then the best the public can do is to intervene in a "crisis of maladjustment"; at other times it is a "phantom" so far as its influence upon the affairs of government is concerned. Mr. Lippmann believes that an independent newspaper and an independent fact-finding agency are indispensable in any city, that they are the best means of giving the public some idea, faint as this idea may be, of the work of the government.

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The New York State Reorganization  
As noted in the previous issue of the REVIEW, the constitutional amendment providing for the reorganization of the state administration was adopted by the people of New York at the November election. This amendment requires that the entire state administration, consisting of more than 150 separate agencies, shall be organized into 20 departments. These departments are named in the amendment and in some instances their jurisdictions are roughly defined. In the case of most of the departments, however, the scope of work is indicated only by the departmental name and the



legislature is free to assign to each of these departments such functions as may seem proper. This means that the success of the reorganization plan and the economies that may come from its adoption will depend largely upon the action of the legislature in framing and passing the necessary law or laws to carry out the plan.

Governor Smith and others interested in the reorganization are fully aware of the importance of working out a careful and detailed plan as a basis for drafting the required legislation. In order to do this, an unofficial commission of fifty-six leading persons from all parts of the state and representing the various interests involved has been selected. Charles E. Hughes is chairman of this commission. The various members of the commission have been assigned to work on fifteen committees, representing the major functions of the state administration. These committees are all busily engaged, at the time of this writing, working on their assigned tasks. It is understood that Mr. Hughes intends to bring together the plans of the various committees and combine these into a master plan for the entire state administration. This plan will be presented to the 1926 legislature early in the session. The legislature, however, is not compelled to act upon the plan at this session, and there has been some talk of deferring action for political reasons until 1927.

Undoubtedly, the Hughes commission and the state legislature, in framing the reorganization plan and enacting legislation to carry it into effect under the constitutional amendment, will want to follow the standards developed in other states where administrative reorganization has been carried out. We are fortunate in being able to publish in this issue of the REVIEW an article outlining the salient features of

state reorganization as viewed from the standpoint of the Illinois experience. This article was written by Frank O. Lowden, who was governor of Illinois at the time the reorganization plan was adopted in that state and who was the moving force behind its adoption.

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#### Custody of County Funds

The custody and management of county funds is an unexplored field of public finance. There have been many scandals in connection with the handling of county funds, but practically none of them has been thoroughly investigated and reported. For this reason, we are glad to publish in this issue of the REVIEW an article by Martin L. Faust, describing the embezzlement and misapplication of funds belonging to Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. The embezzler, a banker and coal operator by the name of John A. Bell, was found guilty by the local court on December 8. Mr. Faust has presented a vivid picture of the political manipulations by which the county funds were diverted by Bell to the financing of private speculative ventures. The methods used by Bell were as daring as any ever employed by Quay in handling the state funds of Pennsylvania. Mr. Faust has fully described the latter in his recent book on "The Custody of State Funds."

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#### Our City Councils

This issue of the REVIEW contains the sixth article in our series on city councils. We especially recommend this article on the Pittsburgh city council to our readers. It is written by Charles F. Lewis, chief editorial writer of *The Pittsburgh Sun*. Mr. Lewis presents in an illuminating style the general character, working organization, methods of procedure,

and political connections of this city council, which he calls both a "triumph and a despair."

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Washington Cities and Towns Default on Bonds      Since the World War many of the cities and towns of Washington have shown great enthusiasm for improvements. Local improvement district bonds to the extent of millions of dollars were issued under a law which affords their holders no adequate protection. Assessments on abutting property were the only means of payment provided. The property owners in many instances wouldn't or couldn't pay the assessment. As a result there has been an extensive default in the payment of the interest and principal of these bonds. On this situation, Governor Hartley says in his message to the special session of the legislature called on November 9:

The manner in which local improvement district bonds are handled in this state is little short of criminal. We have set up machinery whereby the promoter and the bond salesman, under the respectability of law and in the name of our cities and towns, may swindle the public. It is time that repudiation was rendered impossible and this legalized fraud stopped.

My mail is full of complaints from purchasers of Washington local improvement district bonds, most of them residents of other states and people of moderate means. The stories of all are the same. They have been advised that the bonds they hold, bonds which bear the signature of the mayors and clerks of the municipalities, are not worth the paper they are written on. A recent report compiled by the Municipal Securities Committee of the Investment Bankers of America, shows that 17 Washington towns examined have a total of \$3,757,671 of local improvement district bonds outstanding and admit defaults of \$1,439,710. The report says, "Such a condi-

tion has been unequalled in any other state in the country in the last 25 years. It is undoubtedly true this deplorable situation is most seriously affecting the credit standing of the entire State of Washington and the further publicity which will now necessarily result will accentuate it." Continuing, the report says this condition is not only serious, but disgraceful and is, no doubt, annually costing the taxpayers of this state much more than the total defaults. I most heartily agree.

Year after year we are extending our efforts and paying our taxes to build up blue sky law enforcement, to protect investors and prevent people from putting their savings into worthless securities. Yet all the while we are encouraging our municipalities to put out bonds compared to which the most worthless oil and mining stocks are far less dangerous, because the people have been warned against such securities.

Immediate steps should be taken to correct this situation. Chapter 141, Session Laws of 1923, should be amended to make the creation of a guarantee fund mandatory upon, rather than optional with, the municipalities, and city councils should be given discretionary powers over the creation of local improvement districts.

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Practical Politics  
in Philadelphia

Should we not expect the "City of Brotherly Love" to abound in political virtue? Such, however, does not seem to be the case. At least, this is borne out by Austin F. Macdonald's article on "Philadelphia's Political Machine in Action," printed in this number of the REVIEW. This article gives some startling facts on the fraudulent voting and political machine maneuvering at the election on November 3. Mr. Macdonald's concluding remark is to the effect that "many Philadelphians are puzzled to determine whether their city has lost all sense of political decency or whether it ever had any."



# PUBLIC OPINION AND THE POLITICIANS<sup>1</sup>

BY WALTER LIPPMANN

*Chief Editorial Writer of the New York World*

*Mr. Lippmann presents briefly some striking views on public opinion, politicians, and political reform.*    ::    ::    ::    ::    ::

I SHOULD like to lay before you a few simple observations about the nature of public opinion in cities, looked at from the point of view of those who are interested in the improvement of the methods of city government and of the adoptions of programs worked out by scientific people. The voting population of the city may be divided roughly into two groups of unequal size: the first and larger group consists of those who are regular partisans of one of the machines. The second and smaller group consists of those who have no strong personal attachment to either machine, and therefore are not certain to vote in any particular way. The first group are the partisans and the second group are the independents.

## THE PUBLIC CANNOT KNOW THE DETAILS OF GOVERNMENT

On the whole the bulk of people in both groups cannot be said to have a comprehensive knowledge of the administration of the city, a continuous interest in that administration or an adequate knowledge of its problems. I say this without the intention to reflect upon their intelligence or their public spirit. I think I may say, for example, that I read the newspapers with more than average care and industry, since I am paid to do that. I see more people interested in the government of the city of New York than

the average busy man. I have more time to study the problems of New York than the average man, and yet I find it entirely impossible to keep abreast of the work of the various departments in the city, or to know with any intimacy and detail even the dozen major problems which the administration has to deal with. I am convinced that a really thorough knowledge of public affairs, even in the city, ignoring all the problems of the state and the nation and the world, is now beyond the competence of practically everybody. The best anyone can do is to know a little about something and very little about the rest. The interest in public affairs is bound to be spasmodic. We can only think about problems from time to time. Our judgments of men and parties and manners are almost certain to be based upon limited samples, somehow connected with our own immediate knowledge or experience or circle of talk. Practically none of us is in a position to analyze questions, to see their past, to predict the future, to work out solutions. As a general rule we are limited to saying Yes or No to some proposal that's made for us, or to decide on John Smith rather than on Tom Brown.

## THE INDEPENDENT AND THE PARTISAN

This inability to deal with the facts is as characteristic of the independent as it is of the partisan. The real difference in the intellectual processes of these two types of voter lies here: the

<sup>1</sup>Abstract of a speech made at the luncheon of the annual meeting of the National Municipal League held at Pittsburgh, November 18, 1925.

partisan attaches himself to a governing hierarchy which offers him certain immediate personal satisfactions, and trusts this hierarchy to work things out as best it can. The independent, on the other hand, trusts himself now to this man, now to that man, now to this group of experts and now to that group of experts. Partly, perhaps, by rational judgment, but rarely, I believe, by conscious decision, he comes to the conclusion that this is the kind of a person he believes in. Political reform in America has been based on the independent voter, that is to say, on the man with a casual and spasmodic concern with public affairs. The hopes of reform have been based upon the occasional uprising of the independents against the professional politicians with their organized following of habitual and patronage-fed partisans. The dream of reform has consisted in the rescue of the distressed maiden from the clutches of the machine politicians by the pure and noble independent.

#### THE REFORMER VERSUS THE POLITICIAN

Thus the word reformer and the word politician have come to mean two flatly opposing things. A reformer is supposed never to be a good politician and a good politician is supposed never to be interested in reform. A reformer is supposed to be always at war with the machine. A politician is supposed to be always at work resisting and obstructing plans of reformers. I think I do not overstate the case when I say that the municipal reform movements of this generation have been based on the premise that the American party organization is incapable of furnishing good government.

Twenty years ago, or even ten years ago, there was a good deal of justification for this attitude. The professional politician was generally a man educated

in law and in economics, in the use of statistics and in the science of government. The professional reformer, on the other hand, generally belonged to the upper classes and possessed their traditions together with an old-fashioned academic training in politics and economics. But he was sadly uneducated about the motives, the habits and the real needs of simple people and especially of those who had recently come from Europe.

#### TAMMANY HALL OF TODAY

As far as New York is concerned, and I must speak of New York because it is the only large city that I know at all well, a vast change is taking place in the equipment and outlook of the professional politician. I suppose that even today the name Tammany Hall sums up for most people all that is predatory and corrupt in municipal politics. I think we may assume that Tammany is no better and no worse than the ordinary municipal political machine, and if we note a vast change, as I think we must, in the character and leadership of Tammany in New York, I venture to say that similar changes are taking place in the character and leadership of other city machines. I don't think Tammany was ever unique in its evil and I don't believe now it is unique in its undoubted improvement. The plain fact about Tammany today is that the new generation of Tammany men is utterly unlike the conventional reformer's picture of professional politicians. These new Tammany men are the sons or the protégés, most of them, of professional politicians who made money out of politics. But that money was used by the older generation to send their sons to college and to law schools. And so today, if you meet a group of men who are controlling the policies of Tammany Hall, you will find a very



typical group of successful city men—successful lawyers, successful business men and I might add, constant but unsuccessful golf players. You won't find the new generation of Tammany men spending their time in the bar rooms on the Bowery. These things may sound trivial, but in fact they denote a very great change in the social outlook of the machine politician. It can be summed up by saying that he is ceasing to be a thick-skinned social outcast; outcast because he is predatory and predatory because he is outcast. He is becoming instead a somewhat thin-skinned person, anxious to stand in well with the newspapers and the leaders of his community.

#### POLITICAL BOSSES NOW SENSITIVE TO CRITICISM

I think I have noted the change in my own rather brief experience on the staff of a newspaper. When I first began to be interested in these things, we denounced and derided and cartooned the politician unmercifully. So far as I could find out we never disturbed his digestion nor affected his power. Today I sometimes find the politician has become as sensitive to criticism as a *prima donna*. If I were sure that all the criticism offered him were sound, I am sure this would be a good thing. At any rate, with this vastly increased sensitiveness to the opinion of the community there has come a realization on the part of the leading machine politicians that the old job-grafting type of government was not such very good politics after all, and that the things reformers want are not necessarily contrary to human nature.

#### THE GRAND STRATEGY OF REFORM

So if I were to offer any advice on what you might call the grand strategy of reform, if I were permitted to make a

suggestion as to what ought to be the fundamental attitude of men who are interested in city planning, in budget reform, in health, education, housing and the like, it would be this: abandon the notion that the professional politician and the political machine are necessarily your mortal enemies. Abandon the notion that the prelude to reform must be the destruction of the machine. And instead recognize that the machine may be capable of expanding from an institution that humanizes the law in detail to an institution that may assimilate and make its own, and therefore put into practice, the things you are working for.

#### NECESSARY AGENCIES OF REFORM

If this new attitude toward the politician and the political machine is to be attempted successfully, there are, however, two necessary conditions. You must have in any city where you try it at least one independent newspaper and a well-financed independent fact-finding agency for studying municipal questions. The fact-finding agency is fundamental and necessary because without it independent opinion lacks the material for solid judgment and the independent newspaper is essential because without it disinterested judgment and disinterested analysis of the work of government cannot be obtained or brought before the public. But if these two conditions are fulfilled then I think that at the least the reformer ought to experiment sincerely with the attitude which I have suggested.

Naturally no one can give any guarantees, but if I read the political facts correctly, political organization in a democracy has its roots so deep in necessity and habit and the limitations of human capacity that the permanent abolition of the machine is an impossible ideal. If I read the recent political history of great cities like New York

and Chicago correctly, then the old fundamental hostility to the politician is no longer justified. I am in favor of trying a friendly but watchful co-operation with professional politicians. If

the experiment turns out well we shall have put behind reform the vast human power of political organization. If the experiment fails we shall certainly be no worse off than we are now.

## REORGANIZING THE ADMINISTRATION OF A STATE<sup>1</sup>

BY FRANK O. LOWDEN

*Ex-Governor Lowden discusses state reorganization in the light of what has been accomplished in Illinois. He refers to the situation in the federal administration at Washington.* :: :: :: :: ::

DURING the last century every great private industry has undergone a complete transformation. As civilization has become more complex the machinery of business has changed continuously to meet its changing needs. In the machinery of government alone progress has not kept apace with the needs. Yet the business of government has grown in complexity and in the number of subjects with which it deals quite as rapidly as has private enterprise. This failure has been due largely to the fact that until recent years the total expenses of government were so small relatively as to influence but little the general prosperity of the country. During political campaigns, parties frequently charged each other with extravagance, but the people were little interested because the revenues were largely derived from indirect sources and no burden was felt.

Now, however, state and federal taxes, by virtue of their weight, have become directly related to all economic questions of the day. Who can doubt

that the heavy taxes levied by government are an important factor in the high cost of living? The government is powerless to prevent a substantial part, at least, of such taxes being passed on to the consumer. We now see that no form of taxation has been devised which will be borne by the rich alone. The community as a whole, in one form or another, must pay the cost of government.

Business and industry generally, in making plans for the future, must reckon first with the question of taxes, which have reached the point where private initiative is discouraged and where enterprise in some cases halts.

Even before the war men were impressed by the continued increase in the expenses of city, state and national government. The activities of government have multiplied rapidly during recent years. When the state or nation had decided to take on some new function, instead of fitting it into some agency of government already established, it usually created an entirely new body. Sometimes it was an official; oftener it was a board or commission.

The commission had come to be a

<sup>1</sup>This article includes material from an address recently delivered by ex-Governor Lowden before the School of Citizenship at the University of Chicago.



very popular form. It provided good places for aspirants to office, and, being a law unto itself, the members could attend to their private affairs and give one or two days a month—usually about the time the pay rolls were made up—to the public service. When once commissions were created it was almost impossible to abolish them. There is nothing more difficult in government than to get rid of a lucrative office once established. This practice had become quite general.

#### EXPERIENCE IN ILLINOIS

When I became governor of Illinois, in January, 1917, there were something over one hundred and twenty-five independent and unrelated agencies of the state government, sometimes composed of boards, sometimes commissions, and sometimes individual officials. In fact, so confused was the situation that no two agreed upon just exactly how many independent activities the state was conducting. Necessarily, this resulted in much overlapping of work. In purchases there was competition between the different agencies of the government, and there was, of course, needless expense. Above all, there was greatly reduced efficiency. In theory these various offices were supervised by the governor, but in fact it was absolutely impossible for him to exercise any adequate supervision over them. They were scattered over the state, frequent personal contact with them was out of the question, and for all practical purposes the state government was without an actual head. Energetic and competent administration was impossible.

One consequence of this haphazard method, or lack of method, of government was lack of law enforcement. Something went wrong or seemed to go wrong, and a law was enacted, and there the matter rested, as though the

law were an end in itself. We were confronted with a problem requiring solution and then the legislature passed the problem on to a commission and felicitated itself that it had solved the problem. It is a grievous error to enact a law and then to disregard it. Even the best law badly administered is worse than none. For ours is a government of law. In America the sovereign power resides in the people, but the people speak only through the law. Whenever, therefore, law is disregarded, the sovereignty of the people is insulted, and no sovereign power, whether it be *demos* or king, can long rule unless it has the vigor and the will to vindicate itself.

The problem was to gather up the scattered agencies and to reorganize them into departments of government. Upon a study of the nature of these agencies, we concluded that they logically fell into nine groups. We then abolished the more than one hundred and twenty-five boards, commissions and independent offices, and created nine new departments, to take over their functions. These departments were: (1) finance, (2) agriculture, (3) labor, (4) mines and minerals, (5) public works and buildings, (6) public welfare, (7) public health, (8) trade and commerce, and (9) registration and education. The powers and duties of each department were defined by the code.

#### COMMISSIONS VERSUS INDIVIDUALS IN ADMINISTRATION

The question then arose as to whether these departments should be under the control of individuals or of commissions. In acquiring the habit of creating a board or a commission to take care of government work, we have assumed that if something important was to be done it would be best done if done by a body of men, and not an

individual. The fact is—as all who have had experience in business of any kind know—that it is the individual who does things, not a board or a commission. There is no commission anywhere, there is no board anywhere, that does things affirmatively unless it is dominated by one man, and the only benefit from the other members of that body is in their advisory capacity.

Always it is an individual on the board or commission who takes the initiative, and the body is fortunate if the other members do not hamper him. I am speaking now of administration. A commission may be desirable where quasi-judicial or quasi-legislative powers are exercised. Where, however, the duties are purely or largely ministerial, experience has shown that it is a man, not a body of men, who gets results.

There are some who have assumed that large responsibility could be more safely deposited in a body of men than in a single man. Experience has not justified this. Where the responsibility is upon the individual, he cannot shirk it. Where it is placed in a body of men, the individual can find shelter behind that body, when called to account for the manner in which he has exercised his power.

There also is a deadly inertia in a board or commission which is not so likely to be found in the individual. It is a true saying that "what is everybody's business is nobody's business." It is equally true that where several members of a board or commission share a given responsibility, no one of them feels that responsibility as keenly as though he bore it alone. Good and efficient public service makes it mandatory that responsibility be fixed definitely. Then only can a public official be held to a strict accountability. Responsibility can be definitely placed only if it be reposed in an individual. For these reasons, in Illinois

we placed at the head of each of the nine departments an individual, whom we called a director, and not a board or commission.

In his recent biography, Henry Watterson illuminated this point:

Patriotism cries "God give us men," but the parties say "Give us votes and offices," and Congress proceeds to create a commission. Thus responsibilities are shirked and places are multiplied.

#### ADVISORY AND SUBORDINATE OFFICERS

It may happen, however, that the head of a department, upon some important question of policy, would like the advice of able and experienced men. We, therefore, provided advisory committees. The members serve without pay. We have found that many of the ablest men in Illinois are perfectly willing to serve upon an advisory committee without pay, although they could not be induced to take a salaried position. In this way we availed ourselves of the best talent within the state upon the various subjects of state administration.

The Illinois civil administrative code provides for the various subordinate officers within the several departments. It does not, however, attempt to define their precise duties. These duties are prescribed in rules and regulations formulated by the head of the department, and not by statute law. Much debate arose over this proposition. It was objected that this conferred too much power upon the individual head of a department. Many thought that the code should define precisely the duties of the heads of divisions in the several departments.

#### CAUSES OF "RED TAPE" IN ADMINISTRATION

In my judgment, to have adopted that theory would have greatly impaired the efficiency of the code. "Red



tape" would have inevitably crept in. Much of the delay, the inconvenience, even the inaction which results from what we call "red tape" is not so much the fault of the official as it is of the law. This is true alike of laws of the state legislatures and Congress. Where Congress, in launching government into some new activity, has created a bureau or division, the law makers have customarily gone into infinite detail—they have prescribed with exactitude the duties of each official; they have so limited and delimited the powers to be exercised that the bureau or division is in no sense under the control or direction of the head of the department to which it belongs. The result is inevitable. Instead of actually molding and directing a single department in all its parts, he becomes the presiding officer over a large number of bureaus, each of which is practically independent of all the others.

It is said that there are ten departments of government at Washington. That is so only in name. In fact, there are many times ten independent and practically unrelated agencies of government there. No department under these circumstances can avoid becoming rigid and lawbound, and "red tape" necessarily becomes the rule. If, instead, the department head were authorized to prescribe the duties of subordinates, the "red tape" would largely disappear. The responsible head would have power commensurate with his responsibility. Instead of an inert mass you would have a living organism with an actual head.

Democracy has been afraid of itself and of its own chosen officials, and has hedged them about with so many restrictions that genuine efficiency has been well-nigh impossible. We have framed our laws as though they were to execute themselves, providing in detail for every contingency, leaving no

means by which the head could meet unforeseen contingencies. We have gone on the theory that we could tie men's hands for evil, but at the same time leave them free for good.

#### THE SITUATION IN THE FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION

In the last few years all pretense of keeping up the departmental form of organization of the federal government with its activities distributed among the ten departments has been abandoned. There are now something more than forty independent establishments of government within no department of government and answerable directly to the President. It is obvious that the President can have no knowledge of, much less exercise supervision over, these independent agencies of government. There should not be a single function pertaining to administration which does not come directly under some cabinet official. The President, or chief executive of a great state, with his multifarious duties pressing upon him, cannot be safely depended upon properly to direct any administrative activity unless the initiative comes from the head of a department.

A short time ago, owing to the death of President Harding, the public interest was awakened to the need of doing something to save the President of the United States from his exacting duties. Some have suggested an assistant president. Others have thought that an extension of the civil service would afford some measure of relief, and still other remedies have been proposed. It seems to me that none of these proposed changes go to the root of the matter. It was not subjects which were clearly and unequivocally committed to one of the departments of government that laid upon the President his heaviest burdens. It was those matters which lay outside of the

departments and which had been entrusted to some one or more of these boards and commissions which were wholly outside of any department of government. Questions relating to the Shipping Board, to the Interstate Commerce Commission and to the War Labor Board will readily occur to your minds. No one of these agencies of government was under the direction of a member of the cabinet, but responsible only to the President. Even where these officials have quasi-judicial duties to perform, as in the case of the Interstate Commerce Commission, there is no reason why the commission should not be allocated to some department, as in the latter case, to the Department of Commerce, if you please. Though such a commission has duties of a judicial character to perform, much of their work is purely administrative, and therefore should properly come under the control of some member of the cabinet. If it is the administrative features of these public bodies outside of the departments which imposed these burdens upon the President, why should he not be relieved of them. This is what we did in Illinois. There we have a public utilities commission with powers over intra-state commerce, very similar to the powers of the national commission over interstate commerce. Our commission was incorporated into the department of trade and commerce, left wholly free in its decisions upon rates and kindred questions, but under the direction of the department in all administrative matters. This disposition of the commission has worked well in Illinois and has relieved the governor of much detail that has been better performed by the head of the department.

Our cabinet officers have been regarded too much as mere advisers to the President and not enough as responsible heads of important depart-

ments of government. They should be considered as holding positions analogous to the position of vice-president in our great industrial organizations. As such, they should be required to perform all the routine work of their several departments. To illustrate, we have a Department of War. There presides over that department today one of the most competent officials in the country. When any commission in the army is to be signed, it must be signed by the President. In any private business the signature of the actual head of the department would be considered sufficient. This is but one of the innumerable routine duties that are now laid upon the President and which could be as well or better performed by the heads of the several departments. I was told by a high official in the Wilson administration that President Wilson, during the war, frequently spent several hours a day in signing his name. What a tragic waste of time and energy for him upon whom grave duties rested!

#### GOVERNOR IN COMMAND OF STATE ADMINISTRATION

The chief officials under the Illinois code, such as directors of departments, have their offices in the Capitol at Springfield. The directors of departments and the adjutant general, who is the head of the military department of the state, constitute the governor's cabinet. The governor thus is in daily touch with every activity of the state government. If a weakness develops in the remotest part of the state, he has the means at hand to correct it promptly through the head of the proper department. The head of the department, in turn, through his chiefs of division, over whom he has complete control, can at once reach the weak spot.



An outstanding achievement of the code was that of locating and correcting extravagance and incompetency. This was done through the department of finance, one of the nine departments, as we have seen. This department was made the keystone of the structure. It exercised two sets of powers: (1) it was charged with the general supervision of the finances of the state; and (2) it was required to prepare a budget.

The department of finance was a new conception in our state government—and in the government of any American state, I think. Its function was to see that the government lived within its income, that unnecessary expenditures were checked, that unwise expenditures were prevented and the policies of departments were controlled and co-ordinated. While other departments were imbued with the ambition to extend departmental activities, the department of finance occupied the position of sympathetic critic, proportioning expenditures so as to carry out all administrative policies. By this means a well-balanced administration, serving the needs of the whole state, was secured. Without it, expenditures were incapable of apportionment in accordance with the needs of the various branches of government.

#### FISCAL CONTROL ESTABLISHED

Financial control occupied a large part in the activities of the department. The law charged it with the duty of prescribing a uniform system of book-keeping, with the duty of examining and approving, or disapproving, of all bills, vouchers and claims against the other departments. This power compelled other departments, not as a matter of law, but as a matter of administrative expediency, to consult the department of finance before any un-

usual expenditure was made and to procure its advice. In order still further to promote co-ordination of expenditures, as well as co-operation among the departments, meetings of directors were held and financial as well as other policies were discussed. The result of this procedure cannot be stated in dollars and cents. It did not appear upon any particular balance sheet. It was reflected in the general result, not only in unity and efficiency of administration, but in the tax levy, which, in times of mounting prices, had been reduced.

As has been seen, the department of finance was also required to prepare a budget of estimated expenditures and receipts, to be submitted to each regular session of the general assembly. In the exercise of his general supervision over expenditures, the director of finance in effect began the preparation of the budget a biennium in advance. That is, on the first of July, 1917, in approving or disapproving vouchers and investigating into the financial conditions, he was gathering information all the while to enable him intelligently to judge what the appropriations should be for the next biennium. When the next legislature met in January, 1919, the director of finance had a budget ready. He had the information he had acquired as to the needs of the various activities of the state in the exercise of his power of general supervision over the finances, and in addition he had been able to investigate, himself, when a request was made by any official charged with the expenditure of money, as to the exact needs of the case. The budget thus submitted went before the appropriation committees of the house and senate, and with very few changes was enacted into law.

# COUNTY DEPOSITS USED TO FINANCE SPECULATIVE BANK

BY MARTIN L. FAUST

*University of Pittsburgh*

*A vivid picture of the recent Bell fiasco in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, where county funds, secured through political manipulations, were used to finance speculative ventures.    ::    ::    ::    ::*

SINCE the days of Mathew Stanley Quay, once called "the Farmer-General of the State Finances," loose and unsavory methods in the handling of the public moneys have been ingrained in Pennsylvania administrative practice. Particularly in the counties, have the crude tactics of the Quay "technique" undergone little refinement. The latest tale of remarkable political financiering comes from Allegheny County (Pittsburgh). During the past few months citizens of this county have been reading the dramatic story of the financial collapse of John A. Bell,—leading citizen of Carnegie, Pennsylvania, millionaire banker, coal and oil operator, United States senatorial aspirant, state politician, stock farmer, and erstwhile Sunday-school superintendent. Incidentally the citizens and taxpayers have learned the ramifications of the elements of political, personal, and business friendships that have controlled the administration of the county funds.

## BELL'S TRIO OF BANKS FAIL

In the latter part of April, 1925, the Carnegie Trust Company, the First National Bank of Carnegie, and the Burgettstown National Bank in quick succession closed their doors. John A. Bell completely dominated and controlled this trio of banks. The largest of these banks and the one upon which the failure of the others was entirely contingent was the Carnegie Trust

Company. It was the chief instrument in the manipulations of Mr. Bell. The apparent cause of its collapse was the depreciation of coal land and coal securities owned by it through John A. Bell, or held by it as security. But the real cause was the one-man control with the consequent concentration of loans to one interest, namely, to that of John A. Bell. This was aggravated by the even more dangerous use of wrongful political influence, and the placing in this bank, through such influence, of unjustified deposits of state, county, municipal, and other public funds. The attorney general of Pennsylvania in a report to the governor on the affairs of the defunct bank pointed out that this political factor began its corrupting influence over thirty years ago, when, as treasurer of Allegheny County, Bell himself began to put moneys in preferred or favored banks. It was this ability and favor which led to his acceptance by some of these institutions as a desirable stockholder, director, president, and autocrat.

The concentration of loans and investments and the concentration of deposits in the case of the Carnegie Trust Company are shown by the following summaries from the attorney general's statement:

| <i>Loans and Investments</i>                             |           |
|--|-----------|
| John A. Bell, direct liability . . . . .                 | \$220,000 |
| John A. Bell, indirect liability . . . .                 | 335,750   |
| John A. Bell, owned or controlled corporations . . . . . | 995,552   |



|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| Loans for the accommodation of John A. Bell. ....  | \$556,427   |
| Bonds of Carnegie Coal Company dominated by Bell and held by the trust company as investment (practically its entire capital and surplus)..... | 1,060,000   |
| Total.....   | \$3,177,729 |

*List of Deposits*

|   |             |
|---|-------------|
| Commonwealth of Pennsylvania...   | \$170,000   |
| County of Allegheny.....  | 1,325,438   |
| Poor board, Allegheny County...   | 185,361     |
| Delinquent tax collector of Allegheny County .....                        | 332,579     |
| Pension board, Allegheny County ..  | 20,796      |
| Other public funds, boroughs, townships, school districts.....            | 172,031     |
| Total public deposits .....   | \$2,206,205 |
| Deposits of John A. Bell, members of his family, affiliated corporations. | 154,508     |
| Deposits of the general public.....                                       | 1,440,362   |
| Total deposits.....   | \$3,801,075 |

The total resources of the trust company amounted to \$4,866,699. It is, therefore, apparent that over 64 per cent of the total resources of the trust company were loaned to John A. Bell and his affiliated interests. Of the deposits 58 per cent were public funds, 38 per cent were the deposits of individual depositors, and only 4 per cent were the deposits of John A. Bell, the members of his family, and affiliated interests. According to a bank statement of April 9, 1925, the total checking account funds in the bank amounted to slightly more than \$2,380,000. These figures also showed that 85 per cent of the bank's checking accounts were furnished from public funds. Allegheny County supplied 77 per cent of the total checking account deposits.

## COUNTY FUNDS IN DEFUNCT BANKS

The close political relationship existing between the institution and the of-

ficials controlling the depositing of the county funds received further emphasis from a number of established facts. Treasury records of the past few years reveal that the Carnegie Trust Company always received the bulk of the county funds. While there were nine other county depositories, the deposits in the Bell bank frequently constituted one-quarter of the county's available funds, or more than three times the average in the other institutions. Investigations have also produced reliable information to show the deposits mounted high at certain times when large sums of money might have been needed by Mr. Bell. This was especially apparent during times when he was trying to meet interest payments on his coal company bonds. It was not unusual at such times for the deposits in the bank to be far in excess of the amount of the surety bonds protecting them. A former county treasurer, who has since become a county commissioner, maintained a balance in the trust company \$1,000,000 in excess of the corporate surety on the county deposits. Finally there was the additional fact, and one most disconcerting to the taxpayers, that during the time when county funds to the amount of more than \$1,500,000 were on deposit in the Carnegie Trust Company immediately subject to checking for the county's needs, the county authorities borrowed money to more than that amount in the open market and paid for it at a rate of interest in excess of the rate paid to the county by the trust company.

## SURETY COMPANY MONOPOLY

It is true that most of the public funds on deposit at the time of the collapse were insured through surety company bonds. The county carried a total insurance on the general county funds of \$1,330,000; \$1,100,000 of this

insurance was carried by one company, the Southern Surety Company of Des Moines, Iowa. The Southern Company "farmed out" all of this amount, except \$100,000, among 19 surety companies. The Commercial Casualty Company of Newark, New Jersey, and the National Surety Company of New York were the only other original insurers. The Southern and the National companies have reimbursed the county to the full extent of their liabilities, or \$1,100,000 and \$150,000 respectively. But the Commercial Casualty Company has refused payment to the county of its liability of \$80,000. In the exception filed in answer to the suit brought by the county to recover this amount, the company has built its defense on a charge of collusion and conspiracy between the county and the bank in the matter of putting money into the bank's care. This suit is now pending in the federal courts.

But this practice of permitting one surety company to monopolize the insurance dangerously compromised the element of security for the public funds. For a time many were puzzled to know why the Southern Company paid its \$1,100,000 so readily. Pittsburgh bond men called attention to the fact that when five banks in Des Moines, Iowa, failed in January, 1925, the Southern Surety Company, whose home office is in Des Moines, carried \$250,000 surety on public funds in those banks. These men declared that the company was fighting payment on those bonds in its home town. The Southern has also been experiencing considerable difficulty in recovering on the reinsurance bonds. According to one report it has had to pay from its own treasury \$830,000 of its total liability of \$1,100,000. Figures on the company showed a capital of \$1,225,000 and a surplus of \$745,000. Insurance and bond reports show that the com-

pany had an underwriting loss of 6 per cent in 1924.

#### MANIPULATIONS BY SURETY COMPANY

In statements in the press, after the Southern Company made its final payment to the county, the responsible public officials naïvely recommended to their constituents in a very laudatory manner the reliability and the integrity of this surety company. But reasons for their solicitude and that of the company to remain in the good graces of the citizens were not far to seek. Disclosures by state insurance examiners have thrown considerable light on the connection between politics and bonding in Allegheny County. The examiners discovered evidence of a combination existing between the county officials and the Pennsylvania Underwriters' Association to control the surety business arising in county offices for the Southern Surety Company. It was disclosed, for example, that the Southern Surety Company had rated approximately 100 per cent in writing contract surety on the work let out on the \$5,000,000 worth of bonds issued under the people's bond issue of \$29,000,000.

Evidence found shows that there was formed in 1920 by Pittsburgh and Philadelphia politicians the General Underwriters' Association. The Association was the Pittsburgh agency for the Southern Surety Company at that time. "Then in 1924," according to a reliable authority, "when the \$29,000,000 bond issue was to be spent under the present board of county commissioners, the Pittsburgh politicians on the General Underwriters' Association thought they need not halve the profits with the Philadelphia politicians. Then the Pittsburgh branch formed the Pennsylvania Underwriters' Association and took over the Pittsburgh end of the Southern Surety Com-



pany." Senator Leslie, state senator and Republican boss, it was revealed, had owned 80 shares of stock in the Association. But he withdrew his ownership of stock, because, as stated, "it would not look well for him to be openly connected with a concern doing so much business in the county." The state probers discovered that in the county department of public works and other offices where surety bonds were needed in county business, the officials and employees became active advertisers for the Southern Surety Company and the Pennsylvania Underwriters' Association. When a contractor went to the public works department for information on bidding on county work, a card was handed to him telling him of the Southern Surety Company and its Pittsburgh agency, the Pennsylvania Underwriters' Association.

Another incident, occurring at this same time, revealed the connection between bonding and the placing of the deposits. Shortly after the insurance examiners had begun their investigations, a bank director and former county commissioner, in a letter to the state banking department, charged that the county treasurer, Mr. Foster, threatened to deprive the Peoples Bank of McKeesport of any county deposits unless the bank's surety bond was written by Koughan and Jenkins, agents designated by Foster. These agents, he declared, aided Foster in his campaign for the county treasurer'ship. Before this time the director's company had been handling all the bonding business of the bank. Foster in a public statement declared the director's charges false. He admitted, however, that he had told the Peoples Bank's president that Koughan and Jenkins had been boyhood friends of his, and if he could do them any favors, he would very much appreciate it. The bank president stated that there was no in-

ferred or direct threat from Mr. Foster. "It was merely a simple gentlemanly request." But the bank director refused to retract his original charge. He only admitted the publicity given the affair was "a mistake." At all events, the Peoples Bank got a county deposit, and Koughan and Jenkins wrote the bond.

#### BANK ASSETS USED TO SECURE PUBLIC FUNDS

Public deposits in the Carnegie Trust Company not secured by surety company bonds were the county delinquent tax funds, the county poor funds, and certain township funds. The Carnegie institution in its extreme anxiety to obtain and hold these additional deposits of public funds pledged securities owned by the trust company to the extent of \$960,000. The aggregate amount of these deposits was \$524,568. The securities delivered by the bank were Carnegie Coal Company bonds. Men in touch with bond matters have estimated the value of these bonds at from 25 to 50 cents on the dollar.

The real viciousness here lies in the fact that those dominating the trust company willingly sacrificed the rights and interests of thousands of individual depositors by undertaking to give preference, secured by nearly the entire assets of the bank, to public deposits obtained through political influence. The judge of the local common pleas court dismissed the suits filed by the secretary of banking, who sought to have the bonds returned to the receiver of the defunct bank on the ground that the public officials were unlawfully in the possession of the bonds and were not preferred creditors. The judge decreed that the trust company had power under the statute to pledge these securities for the public deposits. Exceptions have been filed to this decree principally on the ground that

the retaining of the bonds by these public officials is depriving the rest of the depositors of their property without due process of law.

#### DELINQUENT TAXES HELD OUT

The suit of the secretary of banking to recover these bonds incidentally threw some light on the administration of the county delinquent tax office. The county treasurer appoints the men to the delinquent tax office. While no limit is placed on the number of collectors he may employ, it has been customary for several years to appoint only one man. The collector does not receive a salary, but he is paid by a commission of 10 per cent, which is added to all taxes as delinquent. The law provides that monthly remittals shall be made to the county treasurer by all tax collectors. But the delinquent tax deposit of \$332,579 in the Carnegie bank at the time of its collapse represented collections for more than four months. Since the account of the delinquent tax collector is made transitory by the law, it receives no interest. If the money had been turned over to the county treasurer each month, as the law required, it would have gone into the regular account of the county which was earning 4.05 per cent interest.

#### RAMIFICATIONS OF BELL'S CONNECTIONS

Political interest in the probing of Bell's affairs became acute when the investigators began to dig up the political paper both in the possession of the bank and in Bell's private effects. Senator Leslie, state senator and powerful Republican boss, in the face of evidence uncovered, admitted that he was the maker or endorser of notes to the total of \$200,000. The probers found in the possession of the trust company three notes of \$25,000 each, executed and endorsed by Leslie. At-

tached to these notes as collateral were 3,750 shares of Lauraine Magneto Company stock. These securities were worthless, since the company had been bankrupt since June 9, 1921. Records of the trustee in bankruptcy showed that Leslie had been associated with a wealthy Tammany contractor and politician of Woodmere, Long Island, in the promotion of the magneto company. According to these records Leslie for a time was president of the company, and his son was treasurer. Bell declared positively and repeatedly that he had nothing whatever to do with the Lauraine Magneto Company. Leslie insists the notes were for no other purpose but the accommodation of Bell. "I lent Bell my name. Not one penny was negotiated by me. Not one penny was ever credited to my account. Not one penny was ever drawn from it by my check." Suits are now pending against Leslie for the payment of these notes.

The two Republican factions sparring for control in local politics—at least before the recent "harmony" mayoralty campaign sponsored by the Mellon influence—are the Leslie faction and the Magee faction. Senator Leslie heads the former; Mayor William A. Magee, the present mayor of Pittsburgh, leads the latter. Those familiar with Bell's enterprises and his relation to local political affairs declare that his activities were non-factional. The Magee forces chuckled when the Leslie notes were discovered. But a little later the Leslie followers had their laugh, when two notes of Magee amounting to \$7,000 were found. Both of these notes had been paid. It leaked out also that Magee was personally indebted to Bell to the extent of \$82,000 because of a transaction in which Bell stood as guarantor of Magee's account with a Pittsburgh brokerage office. The only explanation of-



ferred by the Mayor was a statement to the effect that his affairs with Bell had no relation to the failure of the Carnegie banks nor with Bell's financial embarrassment.

Among Bell's personal effects there was also found a \$20,000 note signed by Harmon K. Kephart, former state treasurer. This paper had been made three years ago, which was about the time of the notorious Bell-Kephart case toward the end of the administration of Governor Sproul. Kephart pleaded *nolo contendere* in that case and was fined heavily. It involved the use of Bell's banks for the manipulation of a "revolving or war fund" used freely by Kephart during his administration as state treasurer.

#### BELL'S FINANCIAL LOSSES

It would be difficult, even if space permitted, to trace the devious and complicated path of the Bell financial transactions before the time of the final crash. It seems pertinent to this inquiry, however, to make at least passing reference to Bell's investments which sustained the heaviest losses. The creditors' committee in a statement made public reported that within the past five years Mr. Bell apparently had suffered financial losses approximately as follows:

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| Miscellaneous losses, about.....             | \$960,000 |
| Oklahoma oil developments.....               | 897,000   |
| Dairy farm, Coraopolis.....                  | 1,000,000 |
| Salkeld Coal Company.....                    | 297,000   |
| Tasa Coal Company.....                       | 389,000   |
| Carnegie Coal Company.....                   | 6,500,000 |
| Harmon Creek Coal Company....                | 300,000   |
| Minor corporations.....                      | 400,000   |
| Capital stock of banks, trust companies..... | 189,000   |

Estimated total of..... \$10,932,000

The minor corporations listed above included the Tahlaquah Gas Company,

Morton Oil and Gas Company, Signal Pipe Line Company, Frauenheim-Logansport Coal Company, Interstate Pipe Company, and the Chartiers Cemetery Association.

#### BELL CONVICTED IN LOCAL COURT

The local courts are congested with suits resulting from the Bell financial fiasco. Bell himself has stood trial in the local common pleas court and has been convicted on 12 of the 14 indictments charging him with embezzling \$800,000 of the defunct trust company's funds. Although the trial threw no new light on Bell's relations with the politicians, it corroborated the facts published at the time of the probing of Bell's affairs. The prosecuting attorney produced voluminous records and many witnesses to prove Bell guilty of the charges placed against him. While the actual manipulation was done by a trusted and confidential employee, it was always done at the direction of Bell. This employee admitted Bell had been using manipulated county funds for his own use since 1914, and it had become a common practice. The defense was at times ludicrous and throughout the entire trial pitifully weak. The only defense Bell's attorney made for their client was to produce 37 character witnesses. These in the main were politicians and clergymen. Sentence has not yet been imposed, since application has been made for a new trial. If this is not granted, counsel for the defense plans an appeal. Bell himself remains at liberty under \$25,000 bail.

One may chide the naïveté of the citizens of Carnegie who trusted Bell like a god. Literally thousands of these people have been thrust back twenty years by the failure of this institution. Again one may heap deserved criticism upon the state banking

department and the state banking laws which allowed the conditions described to exist for years. But what shall be said of the responsible public officials, who, fully cognizant of the highly speculative character of the institution, actually financed the bank by means of heavy public deposits? Although the bulk of the public funds were adequately protected by insurance, there

are still thousands of dollars of the taxpayers' moneys tied up, which may eventually be lost. In the perpetration of these manipulations which seriously jeopardized large sums of public funds and which actually stripped hundreds of homes of their last savings, these responsible public officials can only properly be classed as *particeps criminis*.

## THE "REFORM" OF OUTDOOR ADVERTISING

BY J. HORACE MCFARLAND

*Past President American Civic Association*

*Some further comment upon outdoor advertising and the changes and restrictions which seem desirable.*      ::      ::      ::      ::      ::

THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for October printed an article by Mr. I. W. Digges, Secretary of the General Outdoor Advertising Company, headed "The Refinement of Outdoor Advertising." Confessedly a discussion of outdoor advertising from the standpoint of the advertising concern responsible for much of it at the present time in the United States, and representing an important consolidation of various interests, the statement is most encouraging.

This encouragement is not, from my standpoint at least, because it tells how in 1900 two million dollars were spent in outdoor advertising, while in 1925 approximately sixty million dollars will be so spent, but because it presents the new "standards of organized advertising" and admits through inference that as it has been conducted and as it has grown outdoor advertising has needed betterment.

Those who have had much to do

with me in the attempt of the last twenty years to curb the excesses of outdoor advertising, know that I have never been willing to be regarded as opposed to all outdoor advertising, but have insisted that such advertising should certainly not spread over all the outdoors. It is therefore most encouraging to have Mr. Digges, who ought to know, say that "over 90 per cent of organized outdoor advertising is located in urban districts, and over 99 per cent of the criticism of the medium is directed toward rural display."

With the 90 per cent to which he refers, "located in urban districts," I find myself little concerned. Under the definite knowledge that billboards are not ordinary structures, but are under the police power of the nation; under the further knowledge that as structures they have mostly escaped urban taxation, but can be taxed; taking further into account the way in which many displays interfere with



the public safety; and most of all realizing that the urban communities referred to have the remedy largely in their own hands, if they want a remedy—I see no reason to bother about New York or Philadelphia or San Francisco or Cincinnati, or the other towns and cities in which nine-tenths of the billboard space, according to Mr. Digges, is in use. These towns can suffer their own lack of dignity and their own loss of values.

The less than 10 per cent to which Mr. Digges refers as being rural in character, and concerning which he insists "over 99 per cent of the criticism . . . is directed," locates the basis of this statement and of the hopes on which it is predicted.

The admirable statement in the article referred to makes plain that there is recognition on the part of the billboard-erecting concerns of the necessity, in order to continue the business relations involved, to make an agreeable impression. It cannot be an agreeable impression if Mr. Digges is right in insisting that "over 99 per cent of the criticism of the medium" is directed toward the less than 10 per cent of the outdoor display not within urban limits.

Among the standards set up by the new organization, the first is worth reprinting here, worth noting carefully, worth remembering, and worth using:

Structures shall not be located in purely residential districts; in the vicinity of public parks or buildings where the surrounding neighborhood is residential; in locations that interfere with the view of natural beauty spots; on trees, rocks, fences, posts, or other natural objects, or in any manner except on structures of standard size.

It may be broadly, even if somewhat inaccurately, stated that all or nearly all of the 10 per cent of the organized outdoor advertising which incites over 99 per cent of the criticism falls under

the provisions of this standard. It is therefore most gratifying to find in the comments made on the standards, that Mr. Digges hopes to see them approximated within even less than a five-year period.

Surely this is an encouraging statement, if it can be construed as meaning that the unpleasant 10 per cent which makes ridiculous many beautiful views, disturbs the serenity and quiet of many residential districts, violates the sacredness of many historic spots, shames many rocks of natural beauty, will be reduced to the vanishing point inside of five years. This means, if it means anything, that the famed Mohawk Trail, once New England's boast, will no longer continue to be the motorist's misery because he cannot see the scenery for the signs. It means that the vicinity of Harper's Ferry, with its natural beauty and historic values, will not continue to be an adjunct to great and glaring signs. It may even mean—though that seems almost too much to expect!—that the hideous lane between New York and Philadelphia, through which the trains of the railroads rush, under conditions which force passengers on the cars to read or sleep in order to avoid seeing the "signscape," may be mitigated.

Another encouraging feature in this article is the showing of strength which implies that unorganized advertising as defined by Mr. Digges will be so dealt with as to make it less a nuisance.

It happens that some ten years ago at a convention of the outdoor advertising interests held in Atlantic City, I made certain statements and predictions in response to a request that I frankly set forth the future of outdoor advertising as I saw it. The organization of the General Outdoor Advertising Company, the setting forth of these ideals and the pleasant prospect ahead of us, which will be all the more pleas-

ant as it is really worked upon by the billboard people, are in confirmation of my statements.

The plan then proposed was that outdoor advertising be intensified, reduced and segregated, so that it should become more efficient and less a nuisance. I still stand on that platform, and no one will be better pleased than myself if the time comes when it can be said to be fairly effective. No one will be more willing than I am to join with the General Outdoor Advertising Company in endeavoring to restrain by any reasonable and legal means the pirates who now have, in Pennsylvania for example, millions of seemingly illegal and unauthorized signs, whose tin abominations are tacked all over every outhouse, decrepit stable, abandoned building, unguarded fence, or refreshment shack, which will hold a tack or a nail.

As I have said above, the community

relation can take care of itself, but I have an impression that the communities themselves will want to establish restricted districts. In these the signs can be smaller, better, more attractive, and can include what is all too frequently absent—some information as to the conveniences and commodities within the community in question.

I take it that the standards of the General Outdoor Advertising Company may properly be said to be a confession. I am even willing to doubt that there would be any such standards if state after state had not angrily attempted to control billboards by legislation, if city after city had not made similar endeavors, if scores and hundreds of organizations had not declared themselves in opposition.

Gladly now will I wait, even if impatiently, to see these standards "bring forth fruit meet for repentance."

## OUR CITY COUNCILS

### VI. PITTSBURGH'S FACTION-RIDDEN COUNCIL

BY CHARLES F. LEWIS

*An intimate story of the Pittsburgh city council, which is both "a triumph and a despair."* :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

AFTER fourteen years, Pittsburgh's small council remains an immeasurable improvement over the conditions that obtained under the corrupt and incompetent houses of the old ward council which it displaced. But the small council in Pittsburgh is admittedly an almost heart-breaking disappointment of the high hopes of those who hailed its induction. The small council in Pittsburgh is at the same time a triumph and a despair.

#### ADOPTION OF THE SMALL COUNCIL

In 1911 the Penrose-ridden legislature of Pennsylvania, yielding to long-accumulating and irresistible public demand, ripped out of office Pittsburgh's unwieldy bicameral council, with its ward representation, and directed Governor John K. Tener to appoint a small board of nine members to serve until the next municipal election.

The governor complied by designat-



ing three manufacturers and business men, two real estate men and bankers, two physicians, one attorney and one architectural engineer. All were men of consequence in the life of the city, some had been active in promoting civic advancement, and political considerations were little involved. The council so constituted was promptly dubbed by press and public the "business" council. Two of the nine soon resigned and their places were filled by election, by the council and the mayor, of another manufacturer and a labor leader. The nine as then constituted were confirmed by the city's vote at the November municipal election.

This original small council was the ablest Pittsburgh has ever had. Today the name of no man of the first appointed nine can be found on the roll of the city's legislature, but the two who were elected to fill vacancies caused by resignation of appointees still survive. Generally, the quality of membership has declined progressively. Such comment is commonplace in Pittsburgh, sometimes touched with hopelessness in cynical contrast of the decline of the elected council with the city's experience with an appointed board of public education. For more than a decade the fifteen directors of school affairs, appointed at large by the judges of the courts of common pleas, for terms of six years, have continued to hold the confidence of the people. More, while spending enormous sums of money from taxes which they levy, they have won the gratitude of citizens generally for unselfish service.

What has happened is an old story to observers of municipal government in the United States. The small council was won by civic revolt. The small council has disintegrated as the fires of revolt have died out, as citizen interest has waned. The pendulum has swung

back again but not, happily, to the extreme from which it was dislodged by popular uprising.

It is essential to view the establishment of the small council in Pittsburgh as the first and greatest achievement of the movement that began as far back as 1906 when George W. Guthrie, subsequently ambassador to Japan, was swept into the mayoralty by a fusion of Democratic and fugitive independent parties as a reform candidate. In the next few years the city was rocked by revelations of far-reaching corruption in the old council and sensational prosecutions resulted in penitentiary sentences. In the meantime inefficiency and politics had been exposed in the board of public education, and the old board elected by ward divisions was replaced by a body of fifteen appointed from the city at large by the judges of the county courts of common pleas. Finally, in 1913, the impetus of the civic drive reached its crest by obtaining legislation for the election of mayor and councilmen on non-partisan ballots.

The back-swing has been as continuous, if not so powerful, as was the upward push. In 1921 the city sat by indifferently while the legislature repealed the non-partisan ballot law. In 1923 and again in 1925 ominous threats were made in the legislature to restore election of councilmen by ward divisions. But the dominant political elements thus far have no dissatisfaction with the situation sufficient to bring about a determined attempt to restore election by districts.

#### PITTSBURGH A ONE-PARTY CITY

The key to understanding Pittsburgh's peculiar councilmanic situation lies in the fact that this is a one-party city, and a city in which sometimes not one citizen in three bothers to go to the polls on election day.

The party enrollment is and has been for many years overwhelmingly Republican. Out of 127,357 registered voters in the Presidential year of 1924, 105,570 were listed as Republicans. The Democratic total was only 11,801. In the mayoralty year of 1921, first election to the office under the restored partisan ballot, 141,533 out of 148,924 were enrolled as Republicans.

Closely knit to this lack of an organized minority is the widespread citizen disinterest in government. In the banner registration of 1921, only 47.7 per cent of citizens of voting age qualified. This year, out of an electorate of 330,000, only 110,000 bothered to register and only 90,000 of these voted in the primaries.

The measure of civic lethargy in Pittsburgh is found in the following comparisons of the vote of November 1924:

dividual office is made by some aggressive fighter as an independent, or on the Democratic ticket with disgruntled or independent backing. But no such fight for a council seat has been successful. There has been no fight all down the line at the November municipal election in any year since the non-partisan ballot was repealed. As a result Republican nomination is ordinarily considered equivalent to election and none but a registered Republican has even been elected to the small council, whether under partisan or non-partisan elections.

#### PATRONAGE-SEEKING FACTIONS

In consequence, factions within the majority party have all the importance that ordinarily attaches to party organizations in most cities, without even the measure of responsibility that

|                       | Citizens of<br>Voting Age.* | Total Vote | Pct. of Citizens<br>Voting |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|------------|----------------------------|
| United States.....    | 56,484,375                  | 28,920,000 | 51.2                       |
| Pennsylvania.....     | 4,543,896                   | 2,144,719  | 47.2                       |
| Allegheny County..... | 648,094                     | 253,013    | 39.0                       |
| Pittsburgh.....       | 327,315                     | 117,446    | 35.8                       |

\* Based upon reliable estimates and calculations of native-born or naturalized persons of voting age.

Of course, the vote of the residential wards is worse than this table shows, for the city's average on registration day is brought up in the busy controlled areas. The machine wards can be depended upon, in a fight, to produce from 60 to 65 per cent of all eligibles, while the so-called "strongholds" of independence often enroll only 33 or even 25 per cent of their citizens of voting age.

This one-party dominance and lack of organized independence has its usual concomitants. Elections come to mean less and less, except on those rare occasions when a vigorous battle for an in-

attaches to local party organizations. The factions are in turn made up of a number of personal leaders, many of whom are found now in this camp, now in that, aligning themselves from biennium to biennium as profitable "deals" or prospects of patronage attract.

Thus it is that the principal motive behind candidacies for the city council is factional political advantage. The candidate may be concerned with his personal advantage, but in most cases he is a candidate by sufferance of the factional leaders, who put him forward sometimes for the strength he may



add to their ticket, but more often for the service he may be able to render in legislation. The same situation, it may be interjected, applies to the mayoralty. Lacking a political revolution, there is little hope that any man will be elected to that office without the support of a powerful factional baron, as long as present conditions obtain.

The strength of the fighting factions is naturally centered in the congested downtown and river-bottom wards. The strength of the independents is in the outlying residential districts, chiefly on the hills. It is significant, then, that the council to-day consists of six members from the heart of the controlled wards. For two years the populous Northside of the city, formerly the independent City of Allegheny, has been without representation. The factional leaders have remedied this this year, by endorsing and nominating a state legislator from that section in place of a councilman who was a former police magistrate and whose term will expire in January.

#### CHARACTER OF THE COUNCIL

Economically, the present representation in the council may be generalized as one manufacturer, three former labor leaders, one glassworker and four small business men. Any definite economic labelling is difficult because, for the most part, the councilmen have been in public employment so long that their original economic status has been forgotten. Four members were jobholders at the time of their first election. These four are the most recently elected members. The council seems definitely to be drifting into the hands of professional politicians, of ward importance. So far as representing a cross-section of the city is concerned, the present council now ignores the outlying residential wards to as great

a degree as the original appointed nine over-represented the well-to-do professional and business classes.

For years this political council has been increasingly blinded by factionalism, and the return to the party ballot has not checked this evil. Indeed, it is now clear enough to all what ought to have been patent in the beginning, that the non-partisan law was repealed chiefly to save the politicians the expense of a second factional battle on election day. So evenly balanced are the factions, indeed, that for years the division has been traditionally five to four. Added to this difficulty, the councilmanic majority has been frequently opposed to the mayor in power.

The business of the opposition in council, whether it be majority or minority, has been obstruction of the mayor. The business of the administration members is merely to put the mayor's program through. The instances are few and far between in the last four years in which it can be said that council as a whole or any councilman individually voted upon any important matter in defiance of the interest of his political faction. What started out as the business council has thus become, when the mayor has no majority, a council in which virtually no business can be transacted.

#### HARDEST BATTLES OVER THE BUDGET

The bitterest battles have been fought over the budget. Here we have the usual spectacle of the administration going to battle for larger and ever larger budgets in the name of service, and the opposition cutting and slashing in the name of economy and tax reduction. The underlying motives are more commonly to get payroll patronage or to deny it.

During recent years the city business has suffered almost incredibly from this merciless, guerilla warfare.

The departmental estimates of the administration in 1925 called for approximately \$6,000,000 more than in 1924, a 30 per cent increase. A hostile councilmanic majority, encouraged by press demands for retrenchment, cut the tax rate, and returned to the mayor a budget calling for \$1,000,000 less than the 1924 figures. He vetoed it, and then, on one of those rare occasions when a councilman has left his faction in an important test, the veto of the mayor was over-ridden, six to three. The cut was as much too severe as the first estimates had been extravagant, and council has been under repeated necessity of passing emergency appropriation bills, while for several weeks the city endured the spectacle of seeing policemen laid off, in series, one day a week, because the appropriations were inadequate to pay them.

This display of pettiness in budget matters is the more conspicuous as a measure of the backsliding of the small council, because in its first years this body brought order out of financial chaos. One of the early important constructive services of the small council was to follow the recommendations of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research and others for a modern and highly intelligent budget practice.

#### ORGANIZATION AND POWERS OF COUNCIL

There is no fault found with the organization of the council. Its members are elected, five and four, alternately in odd-numbered years for four-year terms. Thus it is a continuing body, which elects its presiding officer biennially. The choice for the presidency of council is determined solely by factional alignment, and the chief personal reason for seeking it is the eternal hope, not yet fulfilled, that the president of council, as leader of his faction in legislation, will be the next

logical candidate of his group for the mayoralty. The salary of the president of council is that of any other member, \$6,500 a year.

The powers of the council are usual. It may pass a measure over executive veto by a two-thirds vote. It may accept or reject appointments by the mayor to departmental directorates and other posts. It may remove a departmental head for cause after a hearing, by a majority with the mayor's consent, or by a two-thirds vote without the mayor's consent. Council may call for such information as it may think proper at any time from any department head. When council sits as a court of impeachment, the law commands that a judge of the court of common pleas shall preside over it to decide questions of law and admission of evidence.

Most of the discussion takes place in committee, and all members have places on all the standing committees. The whole membership resolves itself into finance committee for consideration of budgetary and tax matters, and the chairmanship of this and of other important committees is determined largely by personal fitness or inclination for the post. Council sits as such on Mondays, and there is a committee meeting almost every day.

Just as politics plays little part in the organization of the councilmanic committees, so it has not interfered with the retention of experienced and competent clerks and assistants. They have been continued in office for years.

#### PUBLIC'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE COUNCIL

The meetings of the council are ordinarily humdrum, and only empty chairs, save for the newspapermen and the outposts of the League of Women Voters, look on at the long table where the law-makers for 650,000 people drone



out their votes. But occasionally, as when there is a fight over expenditures, or when a hostile councilmanic majority is investigating the police bureau, there are fiery speeches, and much pounding of fists on mahogany by way of emphasis. These outbursts are rare, however, cause great commotion in the public prints, and for a time fill the handsome council room.

While the majority was investigating the police bureau, the general public reaction was one of suspicion of the sincerity of the investigators. So cynical has become the public attitude that either majority or minority can seldom do anything for the general welfare without suffering withering criticism for its own selfish aim. This criticism is sometimes undeserved, and in fairness it must be said that in some of the most important matters that have come before the council factionalism has been submerged. An instance is the consideration that recently has been given to the city plan of Pittsburgh, evolved at great expense by a volunteer committee of influential business men. Council responded to public demand for non-political consideration of this great program of physical development.

Factional strategy in Pittsburgh looks far ahead, is involved tightly in the general strategy of state campaigns, and is not untouched by national considerations. Bitter as are the ward leaders of rival factions, they were persuaded to accept a "harmony" slate for all city and county offices this fall because of alarm of higher leaders who feared the effect a fight might have on the battle for the United States senatorship next year. Then the machines of both sides of the mountains will be united to fight a Pinchot slate

for the governorship and a United States senatorship. So strong is the influence of the "harmonizers" that the two factions for the time being have been repressed. But political seers are waiting for the break that is expected after the state-wide primaries. The peace that now rests over the city is only a truce.

In spite of all that may be said in derogation of council as a factional fighting ground, in spite of the general lack of public confidence in the council as a legislating body, in fairness it must be said that no suggestion of corruption has ever attached to any councilman as such or to the council as a whole. An important contract has been entered into by the city with the reorganized electric railway utility, and an exchange of realty, involving downtown street relocations has been perfected with the Pennsylvania Railroad, and no hint of scandal has attached to these or any similar transactions. In both of these instances tremendous pressure of press and public opinion was brought to bear upon council to facilitate action, and council put wrangling aside.

As a group the small council is still greatly superior to the old "big" council, the corruption and criminal incompetence of which brought about revolt and reform. But as factional warfare has increased in violence and as citizen interest has waned, the council has progressively deteriorated in experience, capacity, independence and courage. Nevertheless, there is no one in Pittsburgh to-day who would go back to the conditions that prevailed in the last years of the large council. And there are few who suppose that the small council will be much better before existing conditions become much worse.

# PHILADELPHIA'S POLITICAL MACHINE IN ACTION

BY AUSTIN F. MACDONALD  
*University of Pennsylvania*

*An astounding story of recent election frauds and political machine  
corruption in the Quaker City. :: :: :: :: :: :: ::*

LESS than half a century ago Philadelphia was a strong contender for the questionable honor of being the worst governed city in the United States. The infamous "Gas Ring" flourished and prospered. Men used public office to satisfy their private desires. Those chosen to serve the people acknowledged their allegiance to political bosses. Vice and corruption were the order of the day.

More recently, however, Philadelphians boasted that the old order had passed away. Reform mayors were occasionally swept into power on succeeding waves of popular indignation, and this fact was significant, even though the ebbing tide of popular indifference always left them stranded at the next election. There was a city boss, of course; but what city would be complete without one? If corruption still existed, it skulked in dark corners, and did not flout itself before the eyes of an outraged citizenry. In the minds of most persons the government of the Quaker City was at least reasonably honest and efficient. And then came the fall elections of 1925, characterized by the governor of the state as "the most barefaced corruption of the ballot," and leaving in their wake a trail of trickery, disloyalty and fraud. Philadelphia again bids fair to become known as the nation's worst governed city.

## THE SEPTEMBER PRIMARY ELECTION

The story begins with the primary election of September 15. It was

taken for granted that the Vare organization, all-powerful in Philadelphia politics, would nominate and elect its candidates for most of the offices to be filled. Interest, therefore, centered about the offices of district attorney and judge of the municipal court, the two places for which a real contest was expected. Samuel P. Rotan, then district attorney, had served the city in that capacity for eighteen years, backed by the votes of the machine. But recently he had fallen into disfavor with the organization, and had been informed that he need no longer expect its support. At first he announced his intention of bidding for popular favor and defying the gang; but shortly afterward, realizing the futility of such a course, he decided not to become a candidate. This left the field practically clear for John M. Patterson, the Vare candidate for the Republican nomination. At the November election there would be a Democratic aspirant for the office, and probably a Socialist also. But the nomination of Democrats and Socialists in Philadelphia is usually an empty gesture; the Republican nomination is equivalent to election. Patterson was former judge of the Court of Common Pleas, an organization man with a reputation for fairness, and with a host of friends.

Two judges of the Municipal Court were to be chosen. One was unopposed. The other, Benjamin H. Renshaw, was an independent appointed to the bench by Governor Pinchot.



He had earned the hearty dislike of the machine politicians, who were preparing one of their own number for the post. This man, Leopold Glass, was counsel for the Republican City Committee and a former Vare lieutenant in the state legislature. He could be depended on to do the "right" thing for the "boys." The independents of the city were interested in Renshaw's candidacy, and he received the hearty endorsement of the newspapers; but no real effort was made to organize support for him.

As a result the nomination of Glass was generally anticipated. But the extent of the machine triumph came as a total surprise. The final count stood: Glass, 229,077; Renshaw, 72,600. In division after division huge totals piled up for Glass, while not a single vote was recorded for Renshaw. In many sections of the city 300 to 0 was a typical division vote. And then came the reaction. Scores of letters were sent to Judge Renshaw by outraged citizens, who declared that although they and many of their friends had voted for him, ciphers were placed opposite his name on the tally sheet displayed outside the polling place. The "errors" were not confined to one division or one ward, but were found in practically every part of Philadelphia.

#### EVIDENCES OF FRAUD IN COUNTING BALLOTS

Three days after the primary election the morning newspapers carried in flaring headlines Judge Renshaw's charge that he had been cheated of at least 50,000 votes. His cause was espoused by the Committee of Seventy, an association of public-spirited citizens which has been trying for more than two decades to bring good government to Philadelphia. A door-to-door canvass was begun in many of the zero divisions to secure affidavits from per-

sons who had cast their votes for the judge. The organization was thoroughly frightened. In one ward, according to information furnished by a Vare division worker, the machine politicians received warning a few minutes in advance that representatives of the Committee of Seventy were about to visit every house in the neighborhood in an effort to secure evidence of fraud. Those few minutes were enough. Like modern Paul Reveres two members of the "gang" set forth to give the warning. From door to door they went, up and down street after street, and always with the same phrases on their lips: "The Committee of Seventy is coming! When you are asked if you voted for Renshaw, say you never heard of him." Most of the time they were only a few houses ahead of the committee's representatives. "It wasn't that we were afraid they might find somebody who had voted for Renshaw," explained the division worker who supplied this story. "Our division is made up mostly of foreigners, and they can be depended on to do the right thing. But many of those whose ballots were cast at the election never went to the polls, and we couldn't let them tell the committee they stayed home on election day." So the judge's representatives received always the same reply: "Renshaw? We never heard of him." Bewildered and discouraged, they finally gave up the attempt. And as they left the neighborhood foreign faces peered out at them curiously from behind dirty window-panes. Many of the residents later complained that they had been deceived. They had been told the Committee of Seventy was coming, and only two men had appeared!

In other sections of the city the committee was more fortunate. Affidavits were obtained from eleven persons in one division, also in the foreign quar-

ter, that they had voted for Renshaw, although on the tally sheets a zero was placed opposite the judge's name. Many others declared they had voted independently, but, influenced by fear or friendship, refused to sign affidavits. "These election officials are just poor fellows like ourselves working for a living," said one man. "Why should we get them into trouble?" His philosophy was not shared by everyone, however, and additional affidavits were secured in other zero divisions.

#### WHAT A RECOUNT OF BALLOTS SHOWED

Armed with this evidence, the Committee of Seventy requested Judge Bartlett, of the Common Pleas Court, to open the ballot box of the Twenty-First Division of the First Ward, in order that the ballots might be recounted. It is to this court that the judges of election return the tally sheets and the unused ballots, together with the ballot boxes. The law provides that a judge of the Court of Common Pleas may order the opening of a ballot box upon the signed petition of three voters of a division that they believe fraud or error has occurred. Three persons who had voted for Renshaw in this division were put on the stand to testify. The third witness, an Italian, became confused and contradicted himself, saying first that he voted for Renshaw and then that he cast his ballot for Glass. Several other witnesses who had signed affidavits were put on the stand. But Judge Bartlett, who before his elevation to the bench had been a regular worker in the Vare organization, ruled that neither fraud nor error had been proved, and refused to order a recount.

In the meantime the number of zeroes recorded opposite Judge Renshaw's name on the official tally sheets deposited in City Hall began to dwindle in some mysterious manner known

only to the initiated. Ciphers were transformed into sixes, and on more than one sheet a "2" or "3" became a "5." The magicians who accomplished these feats of legerdemain overlooked one important detail, however; when they increased the Renshaw vote, they neglected to reduce correspondingly his opponent's record. As a result in many divisions the combined vote of the rival candidates exceeded by twenty or thirty the total number of ballots used. The evidences of fraud were multiplying.

Undaunted by its original failure to secure a recount, the Committee of Seventy secured fresh affidavits from citizens in other sections of the city, and presented them to the county commissioners with the request that the ballot box of a division in the Fifteenth Ward be reopened. This petition the commissioners granted, and exactly two weeks after the primary election the first set of ballots was recounted, and the result compared with the figures on the tally sheet. To the surprise of some of his supporters Renshaw lost two votes; but his opponent lost nineteen. Shortly afterward, as committee workers disclosed fresh discrepancies, other boxes were opened. Judge Bartlett finally ruled that fraud or error had been shown. In one division of the Forty-Sixth Ward the original sheet certified by the Election Board gave Glass 120 votes and Renshaw 6. The official recount figures, as taken directly from the ballots, were: Glass, 65, Renshaw, 56. Other divisions showed differences equally startling.

#### FRAUDULENT REGISTRATION OF VOTERS

In order to make clear the nature of some of the frauds perpetrated at the primary election, a few words explanatory of Philadelphia's registration sys-

tem are necessary. The first step is the election of nearly 1500 assessors, whose duty is to compile complete lists of the eligible voters in their respective districts. This work is done in the most perfunctory manner. "Those well qualified to judge estimate that not less than 50 per cent of the 1471 assessors fail to make an actual canvass of their divisions, . . . as required by law."<sup>1</sup> Philadelphia has a system of personal registration, and the lists thus obtained are used to check up each voter when he comes to the polls to register on one of the three days designated by the legislature prior to the primary election. Nearly 6,000 appointed registrars sit at the polls on these three days, and it is within the power of these men and women to register as qualified electors any number of persons whose credentials are defective.

It soon became apparent that fraudulent registration had been conducted on a vast scale. One enterprising newspaper reporter actually visited the homes of the twenty voters in one division whose names appeared on the "G" page of the registration book, and learned that only three of the twenty had been at the polling place on registration day. In one division of the Forty-Sixth Ward the record disclosed that the voters had appeared in alphabetical order at the polls to cast their ballots. The Pennsylvania statutes authorize the Registration Commission, a body appointed by the Governor and therefore free from ward politics, to strike from the list of eligible voters the names of persons fraudulently or erroneously registered. Night after night during the closing days of October the Commission met for this purpose. In one evening it ordered the removal of 130 names.

Eleven voters registered from a single house were unknown there, while others from the same address were said to have moved long before. Similar "errors" were found by the score. Names of dead men and of men who never lived were discovered on the list and promptly removed. "There is no doubt that at the primary election corruption existed in virtually every ward of the city," declared Frank M. Riter, chairman of the Board of Registration Commissioners.

#### INDICTMENTS FOR FRAUD

Warrants were promptly issued charging numerous election officials with fraud, and a number of grand jury indictments followed. Members of the organization were thoroughly frightened. To their friends they admitted freely that they had made a serious blunder. "We could easily have beaten Renshaw without getting into any trouble," declared an election inspector. "He never had a chance. But instead of playing safe and giving him ten or twenty votes to each division we gave him none. We were determined to show him how small he really was. And this is the result."

#### GENERAL ELECTION—TACTICS OF THE POLITICAL MACHINE

One result, certainly, seemed to be the awakening of the independents. Judge Renshaw announced that he would be a candidate for election on the Democratic and Freeman's tickets, the Freeman's party being a small local organization. He called on the voters to return him to the bench as a protest against corrupt politics and gang rule. Governor Pinchot sent a check for \$500 to swell the judge's campaign fund. The newspapers supported him editorially, and devoted columns daily to fresh details of the frauds perpetrated at the primary.

<sup>1</sup> Annual Report of the Registration Commission for the City of Philadelphia, 1924, p. 6.



They were quick to expose an old trick to which Renshaw's opponents resorted on the very eve of election. The following letter, typewritten on good paper, was sent to many negroes and others throughout the city.

KU KLUX KLAN HEADQUARTERS

*Dear Voter:*

Benjamin Renshaw, the present judge of the Municipal Court, is a candidate to succeed himself for that office. He is one of our brothers and also James Mullen, 4637 Fairmount Ave., is the same.

A vote for Renshaw is the same as a vote for Mullen. It will put us over the top.

Fraternally yours,

K. K. K.

The Mullen referred to was a candidate for a minor office. The signature initials were typewritten in flaming red.

The willingness of the organization to go to almost any extremes to beat Renshaw is easily explained. The Municipal Court has 600 employees and a payroll of approximately \$1,000,000 a year, and it was generally understood that the election of Leopold Glass would put into Vare's hands control of a majority of the judges, control of the employees and of the payroll following as a matter of course.

#### MACHINE ATTEMPTS TO DEFEAT DEATH

Less than a week before the election Fate introduced a new element into the already complicated situation. Word leaked out that John M. Patterson, the machine's candidate for district attorney, whose election was conceded by virtually all factions, was in the hospital with a severe attack of gallstone colic. Many of his intimate friends had not even known that he was ill. Tuesday, November third, was election day; the preceding Saturday Patterson was operated on, and shortly afterward was reported resting easily. His

condition was not considered serious. Tuesday's morning papers carried the headline:

#### FORMER JUDGE PATTERSON CONSIDERABLY IMPROVED

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE RESTING  
COMFORTABLY, SAYS HIS  
PHYSICIAN

But as the morning hours of election day slipped by, Judge Patterson rapidly grew worse. At noon there was still hope for his recovery, but less than an hour later he relapsed, and it was seen that he had not long to live.

Shortly before three o'clock the Vare leaders went into conference at Republican headquarters. They had been informed that Patterson was dying. There was not a moment to be lost. Death menaced their plans, so death itself must be beaten. They decided to defeat their own candidate. Since seven in the morning men and women had been going to the polls in steady streams to cast their votes for the dying man—some because they knew and loved him, and some because they blindly obeyed the command of the organization. But now the word went out that their votes were to count for naught. In some manner another candidate must be elected before the polls closed at 7 P. M. Sentiment was forgotten.

#### THE MYSTERIOUS SHOYER STICKERS

From an office of the Republican City Committee bales of heavy envelopes were dragged forth. They contained stickers bearing the name of Frederick J. Shoyer. No one knew when or where they had been printed, and apparently no one cared. Shoyer was a machine politician who had formerly held the office of city treasurer, receiving about \$8,000 annually in fees in addition to his \$10,000 salary. Ward leaders were hurriedly sum-

moned by telephone, and rushed in their automobiles to city headquarters. Stickers were handed out in bundles, with orders to defeat Patterson at any cost. And so the ward leaders went from division to division, leaving their grim message and packages of stickers at each polling place. Word was spread that Patterson was dead. In at least two wards his picture was draped in black. The South Philadelphia workers were close at hand, and in an incredibly short space of time they were executing the orders of their superiors. In other sections of the city, particularly the outlying districts, precious minutes were lost. The leader of the Thirty-Sixth Ward could not be reached by telephone, and Congressman Vare was obliged to send his secretary with stickers for each of the ward's divisions.

At many of the polling places voters were handed ballots with stickers already attached, while some judges of election are said to have made the serious mistake of placing the stickers over Patterson's name, instead of in the blank space provided by law. And as the minutes ticked away the vote for Shoyer steadily grew. In some divisions the numbers of votes cast for the sticker candidate was little short of miraculous. When the polls closed at seven o'clock Judge Patterson was still fighting bravely to stave off the inevitable. Four hours later he died. But the Vare machine was unable to rob him of his triumph. The final vote was: Patterson, 168,795; Shoyer, 124,895. Leopold Glass received 164,000 more votes than Benjamin Renshaw for judge of the Municipal Court.

#### FAILURE TO ELECT SUBSTITUTE

One of the minority election inspectors gave an interesting explanation to his friends of the organization's

failure to elect Shoyer in its last minute campaign. "It wasn't a lack of time that beat us," he said. "After the polls closed we could simply have opened the ballot boxes and pasted on as many stickers as we pleased. The trouble was that we had made out the tally sheets early in the day, and given Patterson enough votes to make his election sure. Those tally sheets go to the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, and as they are marked in ink on special paper, it is almost impossible to erase them."

"Isn't it rather dangerous to prepare the final record of the election before even half the votes have been cast?" he was asked.

"No, indeed," he assured his auditors. "We always do that. If we actually counted the ballots our job wouldn't be finished until the next morning. At any rate, the division leader is at the polling place all day, and he knows how almost every person will vote. By checking them off as they deposit their ballots he can tell exactly how the election is going. In our division there was only one person of whom we weren't sure. We were determined to learn whether she voted for or against us, so while she was marking her ballot the judge of election dipped his pen in a bottle of ink and then drew it around the slot in the ballot box. The woman's ballot naturally became smeared with ink as she deposited it, and when we later opened the box we had no difficulty in distinguishing it from the others."

"Weren't you afraid to take such chances?" queried another listener. "You fellows are in trouble already because of what happened at the primary election."

"We didn't take any chances this time. There was a lot of fake voting at the primary, but not at the November election. We didn't record a man

as voting unless he actually voted, or unless we knew he could be depended on. For example, I was sure my mother wouldn't come to the polls, so it was quite safe to cast her ballot for her. The people who live next door to us are the right sort, but they're lazy and like to stay at home. So I told them I would cast their votes for them. But we played the game fair."

This conversation is not a bit of entertaining fiction. It is not the product of a vivid imagination. It is the actual record of Philadelphia politics, in all their sordidness and filth, as told by a minority election inspector. Those unfamiliar with the strength of the Republican organization in the Quaker City may wonder why an election inspector chosen by Democratic voters to represent the Democratic party and to safeguard its interests at the election would prove so pliant a tool in the hands of the majority leaders. The real reason is that the dominant machine dictates the choice of minority officials just as it determines the selection of its own candidates. Philadelphia Democracy is an empty husk. So sure is the Republican organization of winning that it can afford at any time to send into the ranks of the Democratic party enough of its own workers to defeat the will of the *bona fide* Democrats.<sup>2</sup>

#### WHENCE THE SHOYER STICKERS?

Who ordered the preparation of the Shoyer stickers is a question that seems likely to go unanswered. Congressman Vare announced that he would make no statement until after Judge Patterson's funeral. He made no statement prior to the funeral, and has made none since. From other members of the organization parts of

the story have been learned. Days in advance the possibility of Patterson's death was considered, and an attorney connected with the Vare forces was asked to give an opinion as to the legal effect of the candidate's decease after his election. Under such circumstances, the attorney decided, appointment would be in the hands of the governor. Several days after the election he admitted that this opinion was erroneous, but the organization leaders naturally took it at its face value. And so preparations were made to prevent even the possibility of the selection of Philadelphia's next district attorney by Governor Pinchot. For Pinchot is a man who cannot be bribed, frightened or cajoled into obeying the dictates of the Vare machine.

The order to print the stickers was given on Monday, less than twenty-four hours before the opening of the polls, and they were held in readiness should the need arise for their use. It now seems that the organization's fear of a gubernatorial appointee as district attorney was groundless. The state constitution provides that county officers (including, of course, district attorneys) shall hold office for four years "and until their successors shall be duly qualified."<sup>3</sup> Many of the best lawyers in the city maintain that since no person can qualify as successor to the present district attorney, Samuel P. Rotan, he may retain office until the regular election of 1927. This Mr. Rotan has announced his intention of doing, and has promised vigorous action in all election fraud cases. A determined effort will undoubtedly be made to remove him from office.

#### AN UNFINISHED STORY

This story is an unfinished chapter in the history of Philadelphia politics.

<sup>2</sup> See "The Democratic Party in Philadelphia," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May, 1925.

<sup>3</sup> Constitution of Penna., Art. 14, Sec. 2.



Scarcely a day passes without revealing some fresh phase of the situation. Before the January issue of the REVIEW leaves the press much of what is here written may be obsolete. Numerous election officials will be brought to trial, and much new evidence will doubtless be introduced.

It is hoped that this story will not be without value, however, as a picture of the Quaker City's political machine in action. Many Philadelphians are puzzled to determine whether their city has lost all sense of political decency, or whether it ever had any.

## REGIONAL PLANNING IN RELATION TO PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

BY THOMAS ADAMS

*General Director of Plans and Surveys, Regional Plan of New York and its Environs.*

*Mr. Adams recommends co-operation between local governmental authorities in regional planning, such authorities to be assisted by advisory agencies established by the various states.    ::    ::    ::*

THE modern movement towards planning urban areas in large regions, comprising several separate units of local government, has grown up during the quarter of this century that has passed, as a result of rapid and widespread urban expansion. Physical, economic, and social conditions rather than the political character and boundaries of local governmental areas, have influenced the direction of this expansion.

Regional planning has developed simultaneously in several countries; for instance, in the United States in the plans prepared for the metropolitan area of Boston and other great urban areas; in Britain first in the provisions of town planning acts and later in the promotion of regional schemes for large areas embracing many districts having a community of interests; in France under the name of regionalism; and in Germany and Sweden in the form of town extension plans.

The movement has grown up in spite of the natural tendency to accept the

municipal boundary as the appropriate boundary for planning as well as for government. It may be accepted as a solution of the problem of controlling the expansion of cities without the extension of their areas as political units. It is usually conceived that the only way for a city to prevent undesirable conditions growing up outside its boundaries, or to secure harmony between the development within the city and the environs outside the city, is for the city to incorporate outside areas and bring them under its control. This method has been resisted as an encroachment on the rights of local government and an interference with the autonomy of districts that happen to come within the orbit of development of a greater municipal centre. It has not always been successful in the financial interests of the city.

It is submitted that the best method of securing the desired harmony in matters of growth, and the needed co-ordination of interests of adjacent local authorities, is by means of co-

operation between these authorities under regional planning. Instead of cities wasting their substance in incorporating adjacent districts, and destroying valuable forms of local government in the process, the advantages of centralization, without its disadvantages, may be secured by joint action between the cities and the neighboring municipalities in respect of those matters and interests that affect them in common.

The movement towards planning regions has, therefore, an administrative as well as a technical planning aspect. The feeling in favor of decentralized rather than centralized local government has grown along with the extension of democratic institutions and regional planning is in harmony with development.

One of the earliest, if not the earliest, cases of regional planning was carried out in the metropolitan area of Boston, Massachusetts. It was not a comprehensive plan based on a proper survey—but rather a series of plans of different municipal features carried out for purposes of economy or systematic treatment of these features. These plans have dealt with an area under the jurisdiction of about thirty cities, towns, and villages, and with separate problems of water supply, sewage disposal, highways, and parks.

The actual use of the term "regional survey," in connection with town planning was probably used for the first time by Professor Patrick Geddes, in England. He dealt with it as a survey of past and possible growth of human experience in a region.

Another early student of social economic development, Professor Fleure, gives this description of what he meant by such a survey:

A regional survey will thus not only trace out with maps, figures, statistics, and notes, the

chief phases of the growth of human experience in a region. It will also dig back into all the sciences which can make contributions to accurate knowledge of the conditions of that growth of experience. It will further study very specially the human types and their geographical and also their social distributions. But it will go further, and will endeavor to link up all the facts thus gathered to make them a guide for the future.

Early discussions of regional surveys and plans in England and France show that different ideas have prevailed as to what purposes should be fulfilled by surveys and plans and what are the most appropriate areas to deal with. Some surveys that have been made dealt in detail with the analysis of human motives and experiences, with inquiries into archaeological features, bibliographical and educational records—all of which are matters of interest to the sociologist but not, except in broad outline, essential for purposes of regional or town planning.

Some suggestions for regional areas in England went so far as to formulate schemes for surveying and planning large provinces or groups of counties. The regionalist movement in France in one of its phases aimed at restoring the larger and more "natural" provinces of pre-revolutionary times, modified to meet modern social and economic conditions.

The regional survey has however, in practice, become limited to the investigation of such problems as land development, systems of distribution of industries and population and the social and economic aspects of urban and rural growth; while the geographical extent of regions has to be limited to the areas that have related interests and problems that need to be dealt with in one plan. The making of surveys and plans of regions is sufficiently difficult within the limits of essentials that need to be studied and

planned, to make it desirable to omit, firstly, all extraneous detail in the matter of investigation and, secondly, all territory that has no definite links with the hub of the region.

Such progress as has been made in the application of the sanitary and social sciences to the development of cities has not been more than sufficient to counteract the new forms of evil that have arisen as a result of industrial concentration in cities.<sup>1</sup> It may be admitted that more substantial achievements can only be attained, and permanent reconstruction made possible, if our progress in applying scientific principles is accompanied by more faith in humanity and more regard for higher moral standards. Science should aid us to achieve that faith and these standards, if it is unselfishly pursued in the interest of truth.

While the knowledge we gain from the investigation of civic and regional problems is only of value as it leads to action, it is necessary as a guide to action. The art of city, town, rural, and regional planning has constantly to be adjusted to meet new conditions, while the scientific data required to afford guidance for political action and for

planning is very inadequate. Whatever need there may be for improved standards of the art of planning, the more urgent need is the acquisition of knowledge of underlying conditions and the determination of methods and principles of government and planning that will best promote human well-being in urban areas.

#### THE SCOPE OF THE REGION AND REGIONAL SURVEYS

It is difficult to define a region. It is not and cannot be a structure in the same sense as a city or town. The geographical scope of each region must be determined on physical and economic considerations that differ in every case; its boundary cannot be fixed according to any rule nor counsel of perfection. The selection of the boundaries of a metropolitan region must be made so as to include the areas that are most intimately related to the metropolis, but in making a region physically compact and rounded off, some corridors of urban growth at the extremities may have to be excluded. Topographical conditions and political boundaries have a bearing on the selection of boundaries for a variety of reasons:

All the urban growth and systems of communication within commuting distance, or say within a radius of from forty to fifty miles, from Manhattan have some economic or social relation to the mother city that has grown up around the port of New York. The fact that some such relation exists makes the area within the above radius a suitable unit for planning the functional growth and means of communication of New York, although some areas beyond fifty miles may be included for physical reasons, such as the outer extremities of Long Island. A tropemeolitan region such as that of New York consists of a family of com-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Henry Ford, who may be regarded as a typical leader of modern industry, writing in the *Dearborn Independent*, says: "The modern city with its suppression of all that is sweet in its natural environment, its enforcement of artificial modes of living, its startling disparities of leisure and employment, its hideous extremes of self-conscious wealth and abject poverty, is probably the most unlovely sight this planet can offer."

*The Chicago Daily Journal*, of June 28, 1919, referring to Mr. Ford's statement, says: "If man's mastery over nature increases far enough to permit him to devote his chief thought to his rounded development, most cities will either disappear or take on a widely different form from the one they wear at present. That may be admitted. In fact, the change in cities is already tremendous."



munities and not one community. The family in this case comprises over four hundred separate administrative units lying in three states. Different kinds of municipal relationship exist in the different states, with their varied conditions and laws, but important economic and transportation features make the whole region an appropriate unit for planning. It has been found necessary of course to have some regard to political boundaries in making subdivisions of the region for purposes of preliminary study. For these purposes the region was divided into six sectors, three in New York and Connecticut and three in New Jersey. Smaller sub-divisions form the basis for more detailed planning, the county areas being found to be most appropriate for this purpose.

*Prima facie*, an area that would be suitable for planning would also be an appropriate area for local government. But it may not be practicable nor expedient to make a political unit of an area that is suitable as a planning unit. So long as each member of the family of communities co-operates with the others to plan the development that affects their common life and interests so as to avoid overlapping and duplication of expenditure, with consequent confusion and waste, the centralization of government would not appear to be necessary or desirable. It is in the nature of things however that separate local authorities will insist on their independence and show jealousy of their neighbors, even in respect of those matters where joint action is highly desirable. The ideal would be a political structure which would leave existing local authorities to continue to manage their purely local affairs and would give the necessary power and funds to a regional commission to deal with matters affecting them in common, such as main lines of trans-

portation and transit, traffic regulations, park systems, main drainage systems, and water supply. A regional commission would have to operate in one state and therefore it would be necessary to deal with the New York region in three parts corresponding to the state boundaries.

Surveys and plans need to be made for mining and agricultural as well as metropolitan regions.

The general scope of regional surveys may be summarized under the following heads:

1. General characteristics and physical features of the land;
2. Precise measurements and contours;
3. Classification of land uses, soil, minerals, etc;
4. Investigation of economics, industrial and social conditions and trends;
5. Adaptability of different parts for different purposes based on knowledge acquired in surveys and on studies of trends of growth;
6. System of transportation and transit;
7. Character of building development and street system;
8. State laws relating to civic affairs and local government.

In older countries historical and sociological features require more research than in new countries; but in all cases the surveys should be limited to the study of those things that are essential in connection with proper planning and development of the land. It is as important to avoid entering into unnecessary details in surveys as it is to make them deal comprehensively with essentials.

The survey would be followed by the preparation of comprehensive

plans which would include within their scope:

1. Provision of facilities for carrying on and promoting industries—manufacture, agriculture, etc.;
2. Maintenance of the property values when created;
3. Securing wholesome housing and sanitary conditions;
4. Provision of means of communication by rail and road;
5. Planning of terminal facilities and systems of distribution;
6. Regulating the erection and arrangement of buildings so that they may enjoy protection of their light, air, and general amenities;
7. Conservation of natural resources and beauty, maintenance of proper scale between buildings and their surroundings, and prevention of indiscriminate mixing of buildings of different character;
8. Securing adequate open spaces for all purposes.

This brief summary indicates how intimately the regional survey and plan is related to questions of government.

#### REGIONAL AND CITY PLANNING—RELATIONS TO LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

The regional plan is merely a skeleton basis for the preparation of city, county, town, and village plans. It is a necessary basis to enable the local plan to be adjusted to the needs and conditions of the large region of which it is a part. It could only become a statutory plan if the state were to create a regional authority with power to make the plan and carry it out. But even in the absence of a legally constituted authority having power

to give effect to a regional plan, the mere preparation of a plan can be of great value as a guide to local authorities in making city plans for their areas. Indeed there is a distinct value attached to having a plan which contains nothing that is mandatory and permits the utmost elasticity in adapting its proposals to local conditions, so long as it is followed up by action of the local authorities in making statutory plans for their areas. Among the merits of regional as compared with city planning is this greater degree of flexibility, and the fact that its appeal rests on its good qualities and not on force.

The detailed and definite city, town, or village plan, accompanied by the necessary legal provisions to give it effect, and forming with the provisions a scheme of development enforceable by law, can only be prepared and carried into effect by the municipal authority. It is the final and important act in the combined process of regional and city planning. The plan and legal provisions of the scheme would deal, *inter alia*, with:

1. The areas or zones to be prescribed for use for residences, industries, and business;
2. The height and character of buildings appropriate for erection in the different zones;
3. The space about buildings and area of any lot or acre that may be covered by buildings;
4. System of transportation, transit, and traffic regulations;
5. Principal traffic ways and regulations governing their use;
6. The street system, including variation in width of streets for different uses in the respective zones;
7. Control of platting of streets, blocks and lots;

8. Civic and neighborhood centres and arrangement of public buildings;
9. System of parks and parkways.

The scheme would have to conform to the provisions of state enabling acts.

The regional idea has developed without the aid or stimulus of regional machinery of government. In a few cases regional organization has taken some kind of form. In America we have witnessed the creation of state commissions of highways and parks which are a form of regional organization, and in New York we have interstate commissions and authorities. The proposal to create an official Buffalo regional planning board for the purpose of planning Buffalo and environs is probably the nearest approach to forming a regional planning authority with powers to administer and carry out the plan at the joint expense of the constituent local councils. In England joint town planning committees exist in many districts for the purpose of making regional plans, the cost being met by means of contributions from each constituent local authority. This contribution is apportioned in accordance with the assessed value of each municipal area. But even in such cases the regional plan cannot be put directly into effect. It contains nothing more than recommendations for the guidance of each local council in making the statutory city or town plan for its area. Thus, whether a regional committee is a committee of citizens independent of the governing authorities or a body representative of the municipal councils, its functions are as a rule only advisory. The only difference between these two kinds of committees up to the present is that the independent

committee has to find its own revenues while the official committee receives its funds in the form of grants from the municipal councils that have organized to create it. The Plan of New York and Its Environs is being prepared by a non-official committee, the funds being provided by the Russell Sage Foundation. It has the advantage, as compared with a political organization, that it is unhampered by the local jealousies that are almost bound to arise because of the tendency of the largest co-operating authorities to control the activities of the official joint committee. The independent committee is not only free from political pressure but from the suspicion which arises when the initiative is taken by a large city to plan a region comprising the areas of less important municipalities that adjoin the city boundaries.

#### THE NEW YORK REGIONAL PLAN

In connection with the making of the regional survey and plan of New York we are having some experience of the relations which develop, and are desirable to promote, between an advisory regional planning committee and the bodies engaged in public administration.

*The Survey.*—The regional survey of New York and its environs has to be made by the Committee in collaboration with all the municipal authorities in the region. No case has occurred where there has been refusal of this collaboration. There have been many instances where desired information could not be obtained because it did not exist owing to local inefficiency. Power to enforce collection of this data would have been useful but it is questionable if the exercise of such power would be desirable even if it were obtained. The data being collected



comes under four main headings as follows:

1. Physical;
2. Economic;
3. Social;
4. Legal.

We have the expert assistance and machinery to make investigations. As already stated we have obtained the fullest voluntary co-operation of the local authorities, but are without the machinery or power to secure uniformity or dictate the method in collecting data. Thus the costs of inquiry are greater because in order to obtain a uniform standard, we have to make good the defects in local knowledge that exist in some cases as compared with others. If more uniformity existed the work of making analyses would of course be greatly facilitated. No prescription can be laid down as to methods for collecting the necessary data or for defining the limits of what is essential or immaterial. Obviously reliance has to be placed on experience gained from day to day, and on discretion which continually has to be brought to bear on a great variety of conditions. Shrewd guesses have to be made in regard to many matters. A large number of sources of information exist outside the administrative bodies. The aid of chambers of commerce, gas, electrical, and telephone corporations, advisory planning commissions, real estate boards, and numerous other organizations has been sought and easily obtained.

To get effective aid it is necessary for a regional committee to give some kind of service to the municipal authorities in return. For this purpose the New York Committee maintains a small staff to give free advice and assist in local organization; to suggest amendments to state enabling acts so that

local bodies may have greater powers to zone and plan their areas; and to promote conferences for discussion of regional and local problems.

*The Plan.*—When the plan is completed it will be published as a guide to all the authorities engaged in public administration. An effort is being made to educate these authorities to create planning commissions and to proceed with their local planning in conformity with the regional plan. The application of the regional plan will rest with these commissions and will have no force behind it other than its own merit and its appeal to public opinion. A regional council of citizens representative of all parts of the region has been formed to collaborate with the Committee on the Regional Plan. Copies of the publications of the committee on the plan will give particulars of its scope and character which cannot be included in this paper.

#### CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

As the movement for regional planning grows questions of regional organization will arise. It is evident that the movement will influence future proposals to extend or limit municipal boundaries. Subject to the passing by the state legislatures of adequate enabling acts for zoning and platting, the strengthening of state or interstate authorities to enable them efficiently to carry out large projects dealing with transportation, highway improvements, etc., it would seem that the best form in which to make regional surveys and plans is by means of advisory regional committees, collaborating with state authorities and with municipal councils within the region, and having sufficient funds to carry on a permanent campaign of education and local organization.

It would seem also that so far as the

regional planning movement has developed it has not given any clear indication of how local government machinery might be improved for the purpose of securing better facilities in making surveys and plans. Experience indicates that it is the standard of administration rather than the actual forms of government that needs to be improved. Therefore the fundamental need is a more intelligent public opinion to bring about the higher standards needed. Whatever may be said in favor of more centralization of government has to be set against the distinct loss that accrues from any destruction of

local autonomy. Regional planning gives us some of the advantages of centralization without loss of the advantages of local government. Every state should have an expert advisory department on civic affairs and regional and city planning, but its function should be to assist and not to supersede the local government authority. The making of regional surveys and plans should, in course of time, show both how social and economic conditions may be improved through the agency of government, and how government activities may be adjusted to meet the new needs of urban growth.

## THE INITIATIVE AND THE REFERENDUM IN 1923 AND 1924<sup>1</sup>

BY RALPH S. BOOTS

*University of Nebraska*

*A careful review of I. and R. during 1923 and 1924 with complete supporting data for 1924. :: :: :: :: :: :: ::*

THE odd year is an "off" year for elections and consequently, in large measure, an equally "off" year for popular law-making. Little comment is called for by the constituent and legislative activity of the voters in 1923 in the states in which the initiative and the referendum may be employed. In only six of the twenty states included in this group were the voters asked to wrestle directly with the questions of

state policy and in only four of these was this task thrust upon the electorate through the efforts of some of their fellows along the petition route. An initiated proposal for amendment was adopted in Oklahoma, and in Oregon an income tax law, referred by petition,

1925), XIX, pp. 541-4, "Amendments to State Constitutions," 1923-4, F. H. Guild.

"Initiative and Referendum, Election Statistics in the Various States Which Have Initiative and Referendum Laws," Compiled by Hazel Ramussen, Wisconsin Legislative Reference Library, September, 1925.

*Introduction to American Government*, Frederic A. Ogg and P. Orman Ray, second edition, p. 616, note 1.

"New Laws Voted on November 4, 1924," *Current History Magazine*, February, 1925.

<sup>1</sup> The following sources have been consulted in the preparation of this article:

*Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1925, Supplement, "Record of Political Events," pp. 80-99, Arthur W. Macmahon.

Bulletin No. 97, National Popular Government League, Judson King.

*American Political Science Review* (August,

was accepted. Maine voters defeated a measure, indirectly initiated, reducing the legal number of hours' work per week for females and minors, and Ohio refused an old-age pension system, similarly put on the ballot. Ohio voters also overwhelmingly rejected two finance measures which had been "referendumed," as the expression seems to go in South Dakota, both of which appear to a distant observer to possess merit. Success attended the petitioners, then, in two cases in Ohio and in one in Oklahoma. In the last state the amendment provided for convening the state legislature upon the written request of a majority of the members of the house of representatives for investigating the conduct of state officers subject to impeachment. The session of the legislature which assembled under this arrangement removed from office the governor of the state, as everyone knows. Oklahoma's experience suggests to every other state the need of some method of getting the legislature into session if and when, for any reason, the call of the governor cannot be depended on in an emergency. Oklahoma, if one may judge from the terms of the amendment as to the circumstances under which the legislature may (in a sense) call itself into session, doesn't propose to have the lawmakers hanging around the capitol unless there is specific work for them.

#### PROPOSITIONS VOTED ON DURING 1924

During 1924 the sovereign voter passed judgment on a total of 234 propositions. These propositions were by no means uniformly distributed among the several states. In ten states the voter had nothing to do formally with reference to the state government except to fill the offices. In each of ten other states only a single

proposition appeared upon his electoral menu. Two proposals sought his attention in each of three states, and his task in seven others was limited to disposing of three. Thus in thirty states a total of thirty-seven measures were put through, or rather into, the electoral sieve. Mr. Voter puzzled his brain over an average of eleven measures in each of the remaining eighteen states, nine of them employing the I. and R. and nine of them not, and doubtless he frowned upon the twenty-nine appeals for his decision in Missouri, at two elections, and upon the magnificent total of fifty-two in the small state of South Carolina, all served at once. If these two offenders against the cardinal Greek virtue be eliminated, the average would be reduced to five. In the twenty so-called I. and R. states, 110 measures were passed in review, an average of five and one-half in each,—four without Missouri; in the twenty-eight other states, 124 proposals received the voters' verdict, an average of four and one-half in each,—two and one-half without the incontinent South Carolina. In California eighteen propositions were voted upon and in Louisiana, thirteen. No other state disposed of more than eight.

#### NUMBER OF PROPOSITIONS ADOPTED

Of the 234 opinions expressed by the state electorates, 99 were affirmative and 135 negative. If the action of Missouri and South Carolina be disregarded, there were 87 "yeas" and 66 "nays." Proposals for constitutional amendment numbered 186, of which 85 passed and 101 failed. Again, excepting South Carolina and Missouri from the count, 74 amendments succeeded and 34 failed. One may conclude that, in the main, the voters were somewhat more receptive to change than ordinarily. The voters show a



greater tendency to approve resolutions of amendment submitted to them by legislative action than to approve initiated measures, or measures referred by petition, in the case of which, of course, the petitioners' object is disapproval. In view of these considerations, the apparently more favorable disposition toward proposals put before them this year, may be a reflection of the character of the propositions. The initiated measures and the measures preferred by petition make up a very much smaller proportion of the total grist this year than in 1922, there being 26 of the former as compared with 42 in 1922, and 14 of the latter as compared with 40 in 1922. Of the 26 initiated measures eleven were constitutional in character, only one of which was approved, along with five of the 15 statutory measures. It may be worth while to indicate the character of these popularly proposed laws. The two in Missouri levied a gasoline tax and permitted the consolidation of the city and the county of St. Louis; the two in California authorized boxing contests and created a fish and game district; the one in Montana imposed a license tax on mining companies, and that in Oregon repealed the income tax. There seems to be no smell of smoke from the red terror upon the garments of these offsprings of popular fancy. Of the fourteen measures subjected to the referendum, only two survived. This record shows the referendum 85.9 per cent effective, when it is appealed to. Of the fifteen propositions upon the ballots because of constitutional requirements, four were proposals for constitutional conventions in New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, South Dakota and Tennessee, all of which were defeated. With the exception of three in Illinois, the other proposals of this class were for bond issues.

#### PERCENTAGE OF VOTE CAST

An examination of the vote cast in the different states reveals the fact that of the 99 successful proposals, only eleven received over fifty per cent of the vote cast at the election or of the vote cast for some official at the same election. The tax limitation proposal in North Dakota also received more than fifty per cent of the vote cast for governor, but was defeated, nevertheless. These measures are, of course, not the same necessarily as those which received, for and against, the highest percentages of all the votes cast. On the other hand, several propositions were approved which received in their favor under thirty per cent of the vote for governor,—in Alabama, Connecticut (different election), Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Vermont (primary election). Wisconsin adopted a measure with 30.1 per cent of the vote cast for governor. The lowest percentages of the vote for governor which sufficed to carry propositions were those in Connecticut, 9.7 per cent; Vermont, 14.9 per cent; Louisiana, 20.1 per cent, Missouri (special election), six amendments, 12.5 per cent to 15.6 per cent. The average participation in the vote on propositions was under 50 per cent of the total vote cast in Alabama, Idaho (34.1 per cent), Louisiana, Maryland (38.2 per cent), New Mexico, New Jersey, North Carolina, South Carolina (38.5 per cent), and Vermont (16.6 per cent). The average was between 70 per cent and 80 per cent in Arkansas, Mississippi, Montana, and Wyoming; it was above 80 per cent in Kentucky, Michigan (95.6 per cent), Nebraska, North Dakota (91.1 per cent), Oregon (84.2 per cent), South Dakota (91.8 per cent), and Washington (82.6 per cent).

In the *Political Science Quarterly*, Supplement, March 1925, Professor Arthur Macmahon presents the following comparisons:

On all measures this average (percentage of the total vote which was cast for propositions) was 57.0 per cent; on constitutional amendments it was 51.3 per cent; on measures referred by the legislature, 64.3 per cent; on measures referred by petition, 82.7 per cent; on initiated measures, 80.5 per cent. The higher degree of participation in the voting on the latter classes of propositions suggests a comparison which is always interesting, in as much as it bears at least distantly on the self-education involved in democratic processes. In the eighteen states which have the initiative and the referendum, the average for all measures was 73.6 per cent, whereas in the other states the corresponding average was only 46.2 per cent.

At the same time the Missouri voters displayed a high degree of indifference toward the important questions submitted to them by the recent constitutional convention, which was not taken into account in the calculation, and the vote in Connecticut would almost certainly have been much larger had it been cast at the time of a regular election. The following table presents a comparison of the averages within the I. and R. states upon the different types of measure:

elicited action from nearly twenty per cent more voters than any other measure in Florida; whether Peach County should be created took the prize in Georgia; ratification of the child-labor amendment stood first easily in Massachusetts; gas tax measures in Minnesota and Missouri polled the most votes; compulsory school attendance was the popular measure in Michigan and Washington, the "oleo" bill in Oregon (second in Washington), tax limitation in North Dakota, and the constitutional convention in South Dakota. Position on the ballot doubtless has a considerable influence on the number of votes received. Aside from this factor, it is apparent that the majority of these high measures were simple in character and lent themselves to positive support or positive disapproval, and in many instances affected intimately a great proportion of the electorate. There is opportunity for a serious study of the part which the press plays in the degree of public attention devoted to propositions put before the voters. It will be noted that two measures failed of adoption in Illinois, two in Minnesota, and one in Wyoming, because of the requirement that a majority of those voting

|                                | ARIZ. | CAL. | COL. | MASS. | MO.  | MONT. | N. D. | ORE. | S. D. | WASH. |
|--------------------------------|-------|------|------|-------|------|-------|-------|------|-------|-------|
| Submitted by legislature ..... | 57.5  | 61.2 | 62.2 | 69.6  | 65.0 | 74.4  | 88.6  | 82.5 | 101.5 | 69.2  |
| Submitted by initiative .....  | 68.2  | 75.0 | 78.6 | ....  | 71.3 | 88.1  | 100.6 | 83.8 | ....  | 92.0  |
| Submitted by referendum .....  | 63.0  | .... | .... | 67.4  | .... | ....  | 87.6  | 94.0 | 89.4  | 95.3  |

The proposal to appropriate \$100,000 for an investigation of the power possibilities of the Colorado River received the largest vote in Arizona; the public development of water power attracted the most attention in California; the question of printing textbooks by the state stood first in Colorado; the prohibition of the income tax

at the election is necessary for approval. It is not difficult to see what havoc such a provision would have worked among the measures submitted in other states. The *Oregon Voter* estimates that a measure submitted at a general election encounters a handicap of fifteen per cent of "No" votes. The character of the voters who take the trouble to express

themselves on propositions has not been carefully investigated as yet on any large scale. If they are representative in character the result is just the same as if everybody should vote. Is the voter whose disposition is "anti" more disposed to express it when he has come to the polls for other purposes, than is the voter whose attitude is not so negative, reactionary, conservative or "agin"?

#### GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE MEASURES

In importance of subject matter the measures show about as wide a range as the product of the state legislatures. The extremes are perhaps illustrated at the one end by the \$500,000,000 power proposal in California, the compulsory public school attendance propositions in Michigan and Washington, the literacy qualification for the suffrage in Oregon, and biennial or annual sessions of the legislature in Georgia and South Carolina; and, at the other end of the scale, by the jurisdiction of inferior courts in cases of forcible entry and detainer in California, the creation of Peach County in Georgia, a five and one-half mill tax for the support of the schools in Caddo parish in Louisiana, the compensation of the state attorney in Baltimore, Maryland, a change of date in the primary in South Dakota, and the two score, lacking one, proposals to exempt this, that, and the other local government unit from the constitutional debt limitation in South Carolina.

Adopting the basis of classification used by Mr. Schuyler Wallace for the 1922 content of the popular legislative hopper, one notes that 90 of the 234 measures of 1924 were political in purpose or character, 108 financial, 12 social, and 24 economic or industrial. The number of financial measures is unduly swollen by the 39 attempts to

raise local debt limits in South Carolina. Of the measures of these four types, in order, 45, 43, 4, and 7, were approved; 45, 65, 8, and 17, rejected.

The approved and rejected financial proposals will stand 43 and 26 if those submitted in South Carolina are not counted.

A larger number of the political proposals had to do with elections than with any other single subject. Nebraska and North Dakota voters refused to place all state and local offices on a non-partisan basis and the latter declined as well to write the direct primary into the constitution, while South Dakota voters refused to repeal the non-partisan method of electing the judiciary. Montana repealed the state presidential primary and Missouri preferred not to have the choice of primary or convention made optional with the parties. Oregon imposed a literacy qualification upon voters and Missouri restricted the suffrage to citizens. Mississippi decided to continue to allow the governor to appoint certain levee commissioners instead of turning their selection over to the voters. Missouri electors would neither raise the salaries of legislators nor permit the legislature to do so and Colorado took the latter position with reference to salaries of officers heretofore fixed in the constitution. North Carolina also thinks legislators are paid enough, but California took the generous view of a similar question.<sup>2</sup>

Comprehensive plans of reorganization for the executive and judicial departments were defeated in Missouri, and a consolidation of local governments in Duval County (containing Jacksonville) was killed in Florida, but

<sup>2</sup> See *American Political Science Review*, XIX, p. 543, where Washington is said to have defeated a proposal to increase legislators' salaries. This vote seems to have been taken in 1922. North Carolina is not mentioned.



Georgia decided to permit the consolidation of city and county in certain cases. Missouri authorized consolidation for St. Louis and St. Louis County, and Washington permitted an extensive classification of counties in order to combine some of the county offices. New Mexico disapproved a change in the term of county and state officers from four to two years, while South Carolina lengthened the terms of governor, attorney-general, and other officers, from two to four years, although balking at the same modification for the state superintendent of education. Georgia and South Carolina adopted biennial sessions of the legislature. New local government areas or administrative districts were authorized in Louisiana, Georgia, and Alabama. Increased freedom of municipal government from legislative control met with acceptance in Arkansas, Nevada, and Wisconsin: the first forbade special legislation and provided the I. and R. locally as a substitute, the second authorized a legislative grant of home rule, and the third adopted constitutional home rule. Missouri, on the other hand, declined to extend home rule to places of 3,000 population or more.

#### FINANCIAL MEASURES

Among the financial measures are listed various bonus or pension propositions, although these might perhaps as logically, or even more logically, be included in the social group. Louisiana and Texas approved extensions or increases in pensions to Confederate veterans. Maryland, North Carolina and Missouri voted money or loans to veterans of the World War, Oregon included women warriors and Spanish War veterans, Montana turned down the World War veterans, Kansas likewise, with the Spanish fighters included, and Colorado opposed a bonus to

veterans of either sex of all the wars since 1861. The voting on other bond issues broke almost evenly. California frowned upon three proposals for tax exemptions; in Alabama, Georgia and North Carolina exemptions carried. Nearly all attempts to limit tax rates failed, as in Missouri, North Dakota and Washington, although North Carolina stiffened the state debt limit. Florida, on the other hand, prohibited forever the income and inheritance taxes, but South Carolina voters retained a three-mill state school tax. Michigan defeated and Oregon repealed an income tax. Missouri and Minnesota levied gasoline taxes, but Massachusetts would not have one. Propositions to permit the legislative classification of property for taxation purposes or to tax certain different classes at different rates were viewed favorably in Kansas, California and Florida, but turned down in Missouri and Mississippi.

#### OTHER MEASURES

Of outstanding interest among the social measures were the proposals defeated in Michigan and Washington which would have made attendance at public schools compulsory for all children, thus practically abolishing private and church schools. Missouri deprived conscientious objectors of exemption from military service and Nevada struck out of the bill of rights a clause guaranteeing aliens the same property rights as citizens. California authorized boxing and wrestling matches for prizes, while wild and woolly Arizona refused to permit the operation of pari-mutuals in horse-racing by rejecting a measure which also forbade bookmaking. Massachusetts voters in an advisory referendum overwhelmingly opposed ratification of the child-labor amendment, but adopted, in contrast with their action in

1922, a prohibition enforcement law.

The most striking and ambitious "socialistic" proposal among the economic or industrial group was the \$500,000,000 bond issue plan for the development of irrigation and water power decisively rejected by the voters of California. The public printing of textbooks received little encouragement in Colorado, nor the establishment of state-owned elevators in Minnesota, nor the enlargement of the obligations of public-warehouse owners in South Dakota. An extensive reforestation program went down to defeat in Minnesota although it received a three to one endorsement, while compulsory clearing of private lands to prevent forest fires was approved and Wisconsin voted a tax to permit the acquisition and improvement of forests by the state. A scheme for the public development of water transportation and terminals met with disaster in North Carolina. Washington disapproved permission for the sale by any city of electric current to other cities or persons either when accompanied with a state tax upon the proceeds or with the privilege of exercising the power of eminent domain in its accomplishment. Banking regulations passed in Illinois, one prohibiting branch banks. Missouri refused to permit workmen's compensation legislation, North Dakota to grant a labor lien upon farm products, and both Washington and Oregon to forbid the sale of vegetable fats as a substitute for butter.

#### WHAT ARE THE CONCLUSIONS?

The reader may draw his own conclusions as to the quality of the voters' work. Most of it, he would have to do if the I. and R. had never been adopted anywhere. A lengthy, detailed state constitution is liable to put a greater burden upon the voter and demand of him the performance of more exacting

tasks than do the I. and R. The voter is rather prone to change his mind from year to year. In this respect he is altogether normal. Legislators are about equally normal, in all probability. Oregon voters defeated an income tax in 1922; at a special election in 1923 when the legislature's action was referred by petition they adopted it, and in 1924 it was repealed by way of the initiative. In 1914 the voters of California abolished the poll tax and prohibited prize fights; in 1924 they authorized an educational poll tax and boxing and wrestling contests for prizes. Groups of voters keep at the electorate with their proposals year after year, likewise do lobbies attempt to persuade legislatures, session after session.

When one glances over the 14,200-word workmen's compensation measure for Missouri, he doesn't wonder that the voter played safe by voting against it. Only less formidable by actual count were the 7,500-word local tax and budget act submitted to the Ohio voters, or the 5,300-word election law amendment which South Dakota voters were invited to study. When one reads the conflicting arguments presented in the official publicity pamphlets and notes the ballot titles, he finds himself in hearty agreement with Judson King, Director of the National Popular Government League, on the importance of finding some practical solution of the publicity question. The simple explanation accompanying the measures submitted to popular vote in Illinois commended themselves to the writer. Such statements of content and purpose should accompany every publication of such proposals and indeed should, if possible, appear upon the ballot. The difficulty of insuring a fair description of the meaning and significance of these measures will doubtless remain as long as there

is any necessity of taking the opinion of the voters upon them.

There are indications that the problem of propaganda is not without its difficulties in the operation of the initiative and the referendum.<sup>3</sup> Governor Pierce of Oregon in his 1925 message asserts that the repeal of the income tax law "was accomplished by the prodigal use of a lavish campaign fund spent very largely in the repeated publication of false and misleading propaganda." He also attributed the great majority against the oleomargarine bill to the same cause. The California committee's investigation disclosed two outstanding features: startlingly large expenditures in campaigns on such measures and campaign methods and practices that constitute a menace to the electoral system. The committee points out that in the case of seven strenuously contested propositions, that side won which spent the most money, and believes the coincidence of success and greatest expenditures was "too universal to be attributed merely to chance or accident." The total ascertained expenditure on these seven measures was \$1,081,784, but the committee cautions the reader against supposing that this sum represents all the expenditures made, since local organizations may have spent in many cases less than \$1,000 (the amount required to be reported) and since it is difficult if not impossible to determine to what extent general advertising was used indirectly for political purposes. De-

mocracy will have to take pains to guard the sources of its information for the accelerators of public opinion seem to be increasing among us.

#### DUPLICATION OF EFFORT IN GATHERING DATA

The existence of an unprofitable duplication of effort is forced upon one's attention in connection with this study of popular law-making in 1924. The citations at another place in this article indicate the number of persons engaged in practically identical work, which involved the use of the same material and the consultation of the same public records and communication with the same public officials. Perhaps this duplication of effort is as necessary to progress as some think the presence of a half-dozen milk wagons on the same street every day. Students of government, however, are accustomed to attack with a good deal of vigor the overlapping of services in governmental organizations. The question may be put seriously whether one of the publications in the field of political science could not be very advantageously employed to present, from month to month, lists of the undertakings which members of the several associations plan to carry on. Co-operative activity might well result in the economy of time and effort and the production of better and more reliable results. Of course, no one would be deterred from following up the same investigation as another if he believed he could achieve a higher degree of success or for any other reason. The fact that perhaps many individuals subscribe to only one of three or four periodicals which cover the field of current political activity seems to be almost the only justification for the present situation.

<sup>3</sup> "Water-Power Fight in California," *Nation*, 121:508, November 4, 1925; "The Dancing Bear," Frederic Nelson, *New Republic*, 43:15, May 27, 1925; Report of Senate Committee appointed to investigate expenditures for and against the measures on the ballot at the general election held on November 7, 1922, California Legislature, 1923.



## SUMMARY OF MEASURES SUBMITTED TO POPULAR VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1924

| State               | Submitted by the<br>Legislature or by<br>Constitutional<br>Convention | Submitted by<br>Means of<br>Referendum<br>Petition | Submitted by<br>Means of<br>Initiative<br>Petition | Total | Approved | Rejected |
|---------------------|---|--|--|-------|----------|----------|
| Alabama.....        | 7 (7)†  | ..   | .. ..  | 7     | 7        | ..       |
| Arizona*.....       | 1 (1)   | 1  | 4 (1)  | 6     | ..       | 6        |
| Arkansas*.....      | 3 (3)   | ..   | .. ..  | 3     | 3        | ..       |
| California*.....    | 14 (14)   | ..   | 4 (2)  | 18    | 12       | 6        |
| Colorado*.....      | 2 (2)   | ..   | 1 (1)  | 3     | 1        | 3        |
| Connecticut.....    | 1 (1)   | ..   | .. ..  | 1     | ..       | ..       |
| Delaware.....       | ..  | ..   | .. ..  | ..    | ..       | ..       |
| Florida.....        | 5 (5)   | ..   | .. ..  | 5     | 4        | 1        |
| Georgia.....        | 8 (8)   | ..   | .. ..  | 8     | 8        | ..       |
| Idaho.....          | 1 (1)   | ..   | .. ..  | 1     | ..       | 1        |
| Illinois.....       | 5 (1)   | ..   | .. ..  | 5     | 3        | 2        |
| Indiana.....        | ..  | ..   | .. ..  | ..    | ..       | ..       |
| Iowa.....           | 2 (1)   | ..   | .. ..  | 2     | 1        | 1        |
| Kansas.....         | 1   | ..   | .. ..  | 1     | ..       | 1        |
| Kentucky.....       | 1   | ..   | .. ..  | 1     | ..       | 1        |
| Louisiana.....      | 13 (13)   | ..   | .. ..  | 13    | 10       | 3        |
| Maine*.....         | ..  | ..   | .. ..  | ..    | 2        | ..       |
| Maryland†.....      | 2 (2)   | ..   | .. ..  | 2     | 2        | ..       |
| Massachusetts*..... | 4 (2)   | 3  | .. ..  | 7     | 5        | 2        |
| Michigan*.....      | ..  | ..   | 3 (3)  | 3     | ..       | 3        |
| Minnesota.....      | 5 (5)   | ..   | .. ..  | 5     | 2        | 3        |
| Mississippi.....    | 3 (3)   | ..   | .. ..  | 3     | ..       | 3        |
| Missouri*.....      | 25 (25)   | ..   | 4 (2)  | 29    | 8        | 21       |
| Montana*.....       | 4 (3)   | ..   | 1  | 5     | 4        | 1        |
| Nebraska*.....      | ..  | ..   | 1 (1)  | 1     | ..       | 1        |
| Nevada*.....        | 3 (3)   | ..   | .. ..  | 3     | 2        | 1        |
| New Hampshire.....  | 1 ..  | ..   | .. ..  | 1     | ..       | 1        |
| New Jersey.....     | 1 ..  | ..   | .. ..  | 1     | 1        | ..       |
| New Mexico†.....    | 3 (3)   | ..   | .. ..  | 3     | 1        | 2        |
| New York.....       | 1 ..  | ..   | .. ..  | 1     | 1        | ..       |
| North Carolina..... | 6 (4)   | ..   | .. ..  | 6     | 4        | 2        |
| North Dakota*.....  | 2 (2)   | 4  | 2 ..   | 8     | 2        | 6        |
| Ohio*.....          | ..  | ..   | .. ..  | ..    | ..       | ..       |
| Oklahoma*.....      | ..  | ..   | .. ..  | ..    | ..       | ..       |
| Oregon*.....        | 3 (3)   | 1  | 3 (1)  | 7     | 4        | 3        |
| Pennsylvania.....   | 1 ..  | ..   | .. ..  | 1     | ..       | 1        |
| Rhode Island.....   | ..  | ..   | .. ..  | ..    | 4        | ..       |
| South Carolina..... | 52 (51)   | ..   | .. ..  | 52    | 4        | 48       |
| South Dakota*.....  | 1 ..  | 4  | .. ..  | 5     | ..       | 5        |
| Tennessee.....      | 1 ..  | ..   | .. ..  | 1     | ..       | 1        |
| Texas.....          | 1 (1)   | ..   | .. ..  | 1     | 1        | ..       |
| Utah*.....          | ..  | ..   | .. ..  | ..    | ..       | ..       |
| Vermont.....        | 4 (4)   | ..   | .. ..  | 4     | 4        | ..       |
| Virginia.....       | ..  | ..   | .. ..  | ..    | ..       | ..       |
| Washington*.....    | 3 (2)   | 1  | 3  | 7     | 1        | 6        |
| West Virginia.....  | ..  | ..   | .. ..  | ..    | ..       | ..       |
| Wisconsin.....      | 3 (3)   | ..   | .. ..  | 3     | 3        | ..       |
| Wyoming.....        | 2 (2)   | ..   | .. ..  | 2     | 1        | 1        |
| Totals.....         | 194 (175)   | 14   | 26 (11)  | 234   | 99       | 135      |

\*In the states designated thus, the initiative and the referendum may be used.

†In the states designated thus, the referendum may be used.

‡The figures in parentheses to the right of these, indicating the number of measures submitted by the legislatures and the number submitted by means of the initiative, represent the number of each which were proposals for constitutional amendment.

PROPOSITIONS SUBMITTED TO THE VOTERS IN THE SEVERAL STATES, 1924  
CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

| STATE AND SUBJECT   | VOTE                |         | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST ON THE<br>PROPOSITION | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST FOR THE<br>PROPOSITION |
|---|---------------------|---------|--|---|
|   | FOR                 | AGAINST |  |   |
| <i>Alabama</i>  |                     |         |  |   |
| (By legislature) <sup>3</sup>   |                     |         |  |   |
| Exempting World War veterans from the constitutional poll-tax. . . . .  | 75,924 <sup>1</sup> | 32,982  | 55.8 <sup>2</sup>  | 39.0  |
| Authorizing the legislature to form drainage, road, or seawall districts, and to assess a part or the whole of the cost of improvements against the land in such districts. . .   | 60,095              | 29,825  | 46.1   | 30.8  |
| Authorizing the county of Mobile to collect certain school taxes. . . . .   | 58,559              | 28,873  | 44.8   | 30.0  |
| Authorizing certain municipalities to collect taxes for school purposes at a certain rate. .  | 55,321              | 28,891  | 43.2   | 28.3  |
| Authorizing Mobile county to incur certain indebtedness for road-building. . . . .  | 57,410              | 28,041  | 43.8   | 29.4  |
| Authorizing Walker county to levy a special road-tax upon the approval of the qualified voters. . . . .   | 56,555              | 28,217  | 43.4   | 29.0  |
| Authorizing certain school districts to collect a certain tax for school buildings, upon the approval of the voters. . . . .  | 54,926              | 25,566  | 41.3   | 28.1  |
| <i>Arizona</i>  |                     |         |  |   |
| (By legislature)  |                     |         |  |   |
| Providing for the apportionment of the members of the house of representatives among the counties in accordance with the number of votes cast for governor at the last preceding election. . . . .  | 8,779               | 34,602  | 57.5   | 11.6  |
| (By initiative petition)  |                     |         |  |   |
| Providing for a bond issue of \$3,500,000 to build a highway from the Hassayampa River to the Colorado River and to build a bridge over the latter. . . . .   | 13,656              | 40,372  | 71.7   | 18.1  |
| <i>Arkansas</i>   |                     |         |  |   |
| (By legislature) <sup>4</sup>   |                     |         |  |   |
| Increasing the number of judges of the supreme court from five to seven. . . . .  | 52,151              | 40,955  | 74.0   | 41.4  |
| Preventing officers of local government units from exceeding the revenues of these units for the current year by contracts, warrants, etc. . . . .  | 57,854              | 35,449  | 74.1   | 46.0  |
| Prohibiting local legislation by the general assembly, conferring this power upon counties and municipalities, and providing a system of initiative and referendum for such legislation. . . . .  | 56,910              | 34,174  | 72.4   | 45.2  |
| <i>California</i>   |                     |         |  |   |
| (By legislature)  |                     |         |  |   |
| Increasing the compensation of members of the legislature and reducing the expenses of the legislature. . . . .   | 486,193             | 391,933 | 65.6   | 36.3  |
| Extending to any political subdivision the provision permitting the deposit in banks of the state of money in the custody of the state, county, or municipality. . . . .  | 515,412             | 279,830 | 59.4   | 38.5  |
| Increasing the jurisdiction of inferior courts created by the legislature. . . . .  | 518,292             | 266,241 | 58.6   | 43.2  |
| Requiring city and county treasurers to place at a certain time in each fiscal year a part of the taxes accruing for the use of each political subdivision at its disposal, and apparently omitting from the section amended the provision, authorizing a veterans' compensation and validating a veterans' welfare bond act. . . . . | 264,464             | 564,252 | 62.0   | 19.7  |
| Basing the taxes on personal property for any current tax year, if the same are not secured by real estate, upon the tax rate levied upon real property for the preceding tax year. . . . .   | 490,732             | 333,331 | 61.6   | 36.7  |
| Providing that the legislature by general laws may provide such additional deputies as may be necessary for any county officer during his term and may increase the compensation of such deputies during the term of the principal officer. . . . .   | 423,921             | 391,325 | 60.9   | 31.7  |

## CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS—Continued

| STATE AND SUBJECT  | VOTE    |         | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST ON THE<br>PROPOSITION | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST FOR THE<br>PROPOSITION |
|--|---------|---------|--|---|
|  | FOR     | AGAINST |  |   |
| <i>California</i> —Continued   |         |         |  |   |
| Authorizing <sup>5</sup> the taxation of intangible personalty (not now exempt) in a manner different from other property. . . . .   | 429,031 | 368,014 | 59.6   | 32.0  |
| Exempting from the state tax on insurance companies, county fire insurance companies (apparently co-operative in character) and materially decreasing the rate of taxation on transportation and transmission companies and upon franchises. . . . .   | 287,194 | 487,126 | 57.9   | 21.4  |
| Providing for the establishment of municipal courts as courts of record in any city or city and county and for appellate departments of the supreme court where such municipal courts are established. . . . .   | 475,217 | 267,987 | 55.6   | 35.5  |
| Declares that the legislature shall levy an annual educational poll-tax on every male inhabitant of the state between the ages of 21 and 50 years except those honorably discharged from the United States army, navy or marine corps, those paying real or personal property taxes of at least five dollars and certain defectives. . . . . | 501,551 | 486,134 | 73.8   | 37.5  |
| Exempting <sup>6</sup> all bond hereafter issued by public utility districts of the state from taxation as state, county, municipality and other public district bonds are now exempt. . . . .   | 314,750 | 511,364 | 61.8   | 23.5  |
| Exempting <sup>7</sup> from taxation property not exceeding in value in any one county \$50,000 used exclusively as air-ports or aviation fields under the control of the United States government. . . . .  | 297,813 | 533,775 | 62.2   | 22.2  |
| Including eminent domain proceedings against a public utility by an irrigation district or other public corporation or district among those for which the legislature may empower the railroad commission to fix the compensation to be paid. . . . .  | 472,723 | 283,201 | 56.5   | 35.3  |
| Declaring that any person duly registered as an elector in a district from which he moves to another precinct in the same county within 30 days of an election, shall for such election be deemed a qualified elector of the district from which he removed. . . . .<br>(By initiative)  | 699,687 | 197,657 | 67.1   | 52.3  |
| Taxing all companies operating means of transportation on the public highways, 4% of their gross receipts for state purposes in lieu of all other taxes and empowering the legislature by two-thirds vote to change this rate. . . . .   | 457,372 | 541,241 | 74.7   | 34.2  |
| Appropriating \$500,000,000 proceeds from a fifty-year bond issue for the development and distribution of water and electric energy under the direction of a board appointed by the governor and subject to recall. . . . .  | 320,283 | 751,985 | 80.2   | 23.9  |
| <i>Colorado</i>  |         |         |  |   |
| (By legislature)   |         |         |  |   |
| Authorizing adjusted compensation to veterans of the World War, Spanish-American War, and the Civil War. . . . .   | 91,510  | 119,580 | 64.4   | 27.9  |
| Authorizing the legislature to fix the salaries of all elective and appointive officers heretofore fixed in the constitution. . . . .<br>(By initiative)   | 67,230  | 129,344 | 60.0   | 20.5  |
| Establishing the office of state printer and a printing building commission and a textbook commission to select texts for the schools of the state, all of which are to be publicly printed after 1930. . . . .  | 32,150  | 225,505 | 78.6   | 9.9   |
| <i>Connecticut</i>   |         |         |  |   |
| (By legislature)   |         |         |  |   |
| Governor given power to veto items in appropriation bills. . . . .<br>(Voted upon at town meetings)  | 36,257  | 10,601  | 12.5   | 9.7   |



## CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS—Continued

| STATE AND SUBJECT   | VOTE    |         | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST ON THE<br>PROPOSITION | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST FOR THE<br>PROPOSITION |
|---|---------|---------|--|---|
|   | FOR     | AGAINST |  |   |
| <i>Florida</i>  |         |         |  |   |
| (By legislature)  |         |         |  |   |
| Prohibiting the levy of inheritance or income taxes and exempting household goods to the value of \$500.....  | 60,640  | 14,386  | 73.7   | 59.6  |
| Empowering the legislature to establish a consolidated government throughout Duval county, subject to approval of the voters of the county.....   | 23,342  | 32,850  | 55.2   | 22.9  |
| Limiting the power of special tax school districts to issue bonds.....  | 38,036  | 16,032  | 53.1   | 37.4  |
| Making it the duty of the governor to call a special session of the legislature should the regular session of 1925 and of every tenth year thereafter fail to provide a reapportionment of the members, and compelling such special session to continue until such reapportionment is effected..... | 38,159  | 14,108  | 51.3   | 37.5  |
| Permitting the legislature to provide a special rate of taxation not to exceed five mills on the dollar on intangible property, which rate should be exclusive (sic.) of all other state, county, district, and municipal taxes.....  | 36,971  | 16,289  | 52.3   | 36.3  |
| <i>Georgia</i>  |         |         |  |   |
| (By legislature)  |         |         |  |   |
| Exempting certain industries from taxation for a period not exceeding five years.....   | 68,548  | 25,623  | 56.6   | 41.2  |
| Consolidating offices tax receiver and tax collector in the several counties.....   | 69,070  | 28,918  | 58.9   | 41.5  |
| Consolidating city and county government in counties containing cities of 52,900 population or above.....   | 64,918  | 23,673  | 53.3   | 39.0  |
| Creating a Coastal Highway District with power to issue bonds.....  | 70,284  | 17,804  | 53.0   | 42.2  |
| Increasing the bonded indebtedness limit for Savannah.....  | 70,141  | 16,745  | 52.2   | 42.2  |
| Creating Peach county.....  | 77,962  | 31,211  | 65.6   | 46.9  |
| Substituting biennial sessions for annual sessions of the legislature.....  | 79,170  | 18,755  | 58.6   | 47.6  |
| Permitting city of Brunswick to incur debt equal to 14% assessed valuation for acquiring and operating port facilities.....   | 74,436  | 17,261  | 55.1   | 44.7  |
| <i>Idaho</i>  |         |         |  |   |
| (By legislature)  |         |         |  |   |
| Allowing waters made available by drainage works to be distributed to members of the drainage district, or if these have adequate supply, to other lands within the district, on payment proportionate share of assessments.....  | 18,163  | 32,682  | 34.1   | 12.1  |
| <i>Illinois</i>   |         |         |  |   |
| (By legislature) <sup>8</sup>   |         |         |  |   |
| Permitting the legislature to propose amendments to two articles of the constitution at the same session, instead of one, and forbidding amendments to be proposed or voted on while the United States is engaged in war or within one year following the declaration of peace.....                 | 704,665 | 397,836 | 42.7   | 27.3  |
| <i>Kansas</i>   |         |         |  |   |
| (By legislature)  |         |         |  |   |
| Permitting classification of mineral products, money, mortgages, notes, and other evidence of debt for purposes of taxation.....  | 260,813 | 196,852 | 67.8   | 38.0  |
| <i>Louisiana</i>  |         |         |  |   |
| (By legislature)  |         |         |  |   |
| Authorizing Orleans Parish school board to levy a certain tax and governing the use thereof.....  | 18,315  | 56,037  | 60.9   | 15.0  |
| Authorizing the legislature to create port, harbor, and terminal districts as political subdivisions of the state.....  | 29,081  | 22,705  | 42.4   | 23.7  |
| Increasing the salaries of judges of the civil district court for the parish of New Orleans   | 21,951  | 32,531  | 44.6   | 17.9  |

## CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS—Continued

| STATE AND SUBJECT   | VOTE    |         | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST ON THE<br>PROPOSITION | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST FOR THE<br>PROPOSITION |
|---|---------|---------|--|---|
|   | FOR     | AGAINST |  |   |
| <i>Louisiana</i> —Continued   |         |         |  |   |
| Authorizing gravity drainage-districts and gravity sub-drainage-districts to incur debt and issue negotiable bonds . . . . .  | 25,032  | 24,356  | 40.4   | 20.5  |
| Authorizing Caddo Parish to levy certain annual tax rate . . . . .  | 31,196  | 21,917  | 43.5   | 25.5  |
| Permitting Sabine Parish school board to levy additional maintenance tax . . . . .  | 32,317  | 21,789  | 44.3   | 26.4  |
| Ordering pensions to Confederate veterans and widows of certain qualifications . . . . .  | 45,825  | 18,086  | 52.4   | 37.5  |
| Empowering the legislature by general law to allow police juries to create road districts and sewerage districts, and municipal corporations to create sewerage districts, and these districts to incur debt and issue negotiable bonds within limits . . . . .   | 29,543  | 20,745  | 41.2   | 24.2  |
| Authorizing the city of New Orleans to issue certificates on its faith and credit for street paving purposes . . . . .  | 31,306  | 20,370  | 42.3   | 25.6  |
| Authorizing the board of liquidation of state debt to borrow additional funds for the completion of certain highways . . . . .  | 36,426  | 22,426  | 48.2   | 29.8  |
| Creating a special paving fund for the city of New Orleans . . . . .  | 30,763  | 21,388  | 42.7   | 25.2  |
| Increasing the salaries of district judges . . . . .  | 24,670  | 27,562  | 42.6   | 20.2  |
| Relating to the powers of the board of liquidation of city debt, city of New Orleans . . . . .  | 24,619  | 22,772  | 38.8   | 20.1  |
| <i>Maryland</i>   |         |         |  |   |
| (By legislature) <sup>9</sup>   |         |         |  |   |
| Changing the compensation of the state's attorney for Baltimore City . . . . .  | 89,237  | 44,297  | 37.1   | 24.8  |
| Providing for compensation of war veterans . . . . .  | 92,506  | 49,544  | 39.4   | 25.7  |
| <i>Massachusetts</i>  |         |         |  |   |
| (By legislature)  |         |         |  |   |
| Striking out the word "male" in the definition of the qualifications of voters for certain state officers . . . . .   | 456,919 | 246,499 | 60.5   | 39.3  |
| Enabling women to hold any state, county, or municipal office . . . . .   | 473,744 | 266,377 | 63.7   | 40.7  |
| <i>Michigan</i>   |         |         |  |   |
| (By initiative)   |         |         |  |   |
| Requiring all children residing in the state between the ages of seven and sixteen years to attend a public school until they have graduated from the eighth grade . . . . .  | 421,472 | 760,571 | 102.2  | 36.4  |
| Making it the duty of the legislature to provide an income tax, at rates prescribed in the proposed amendment . . . . .   | 216,437 | 913,833 | 97.6   | 18.6  |
| Declaring that the secretary of state, the attorney general, and the lieutenant governor (instead of the legislature) shall district the state for members of the legislature . . . . .   | 231,718 | 781,351 | 87.4   | 20.0  |
| <i>Minnesota</i>  |         |         |  |   |
| (By legislature) <sup>10</sup>  |         |         |  |   |
| Authorizing the state to levy an excise tax on the sale of fluids used for motor-vehicle purposes and requiring it to place the proceeds in the Trunk Highway Fund. (Apparently another exception to the clause forbidding the state to be a party to the carrying on of works of internal improvement) . . . . . | 520,769 | 197,455 | 82.6   | 59.9  |
| Changing the requirements for the publication of proposed amendments to charters of cities and villages . . . . .   | 246,414 | 200,391 | 51.4   | 28.3  |
| Authorizing the establishment of two state-owned public terminal elevators, and the issuance of bonds therefor . . . . .  | 253,732 | 257,492 | 58.8   | 29.1  |
| Authorizing the enactment of laws to encourage and promote forestation and reforestation of publicly or privately owned lands, including irrevocable provisions for definite, limited taxation during a term of years and a yield tax afterwards . . . . .  | 428,407 | 143,977 | 65.8   | 49.2  |

## CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS—Continued

| STATE AND SUBJECT   | VOTE    |         | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST ON THE<br>PROPOSITION | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST FOR THE<br>PROPOSITION |
|---|---------|---------|--|---|
|   | FOR     | AGAINST |  |   |
| <i>Minnesota—Continued</i>  |         |         |  |   |
| Permitting the state and its subdivisions, when authorized by the legislature, to incur debt in the work of preventing forest fires, including the compulsory clearing of publicly or privately owned wild lands and the assessment of benefits or the payment of damages.....  | 460,965 | 143,518 | 69.5   | 53.0  |
| <i>Mississippi</i>  |         |         |  |   |
| (By legislature)  |         |         |  |   |
| Permitting a classification of property for taxation purposes and authorizing income and inheritance taxes.....   | 9,865   | 83,689  | 83.2   | 8.8   |
| Permitting the voters of counties embraced within two levee districts to elect levee commissioners. (At present constitution requires governor to appoint).....   | 33,992  | 45,408  | 71.0   | 30.2  |
| Relating to the details of organization in certain levee districts.....   | 33,932  | 50,468  | 75.1   | 30.2  |
| <i>Missouri</i>   |         |         |  |   |
| (By legislature)  |         |         |  |   |
| Adding two judges to the supreme court and authorizing the court to sit <i>en banc</i> or in three divisions of three judges each as ordered by the court, causes to be transferred to the court <i>en banc</i> when one of the judges of a division dissents from an opinion, or if a division orders, or if a federal question is involved.....             | 331,774 | 526,553 | 66.2   | 25.5  |
| Repealing the method of amendment adopted in 1920, which provided for the submission of the question of holding a constitutional convention, and restoring the process theretofore existing.....  | 326,065 | 511,152 | 64.5   | 25.1  |
| Permitting a board of freeholders, in revising the charter of St. Louis, to propose a house or houses of legislation to be elected by general ticket or by wards instead of "at least one house of legislation to be elected by general ticket".....  | 391,346 | 436,520 | 63.8   | 30.0  |
| Permitting the salary of members of the legislature to be increased to double their present amount (five dollars a day) and prohibiting the practice of nepotism in the appointment of employees.....   | 392,319 | 459,599 | 65.7   | 30.2  |
| (By initiative)   |         |         |  |   |
| Authorizing the appointment, upon the petition of a certain per cent of the voters of St. Louis and of St. Louis county, of a board of freeholders to devise a scheme for the consolidation of said city and county to become effective after adoption by a majority of the voters of the city and a majority of the voters of the county voting thereon..... | 477,776 | 385,516 | 66.6   | 36.8  |
| Exempting from taxation certain property, including endowments or income, used exclusively for educational or charitable purposes, instead of permitting the legislature to exempt practically the same property by general laws.....   | 427,691 | 461,031 | 68.5   | 32.9  |
| (By constitutional convention voted on at special election, February 26) <sup>11</sup>  |         |         |  |   |
| Enlarging the purposes for which religious corporations may own real and personal property, and simplifying the form of indictments and informations.....   | 168,553 | 170,583 | 26.9   | 13.0  |
| Raising from five to ten per cent the number of petitions required to invoke the referendum, and from eight to twelve per cent the number for the constitutional initiative   | 123,811 | 204,881 | 25.2   | 9.4   |
| Raising the pay of members of the legislature from five to ten dollars a day, limiting expenditures for legislature employees, and permitting workmen's compensation laws.  | 137,430 | 190,911 | 25.2   | 10.5  |



## CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS—Continued

| STATE AND SUBJECT   | VOTE    |         | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST ON THE<br>PROPOSITION | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST FOR THE<br>PROPOSITION |
|---|---------|---------|--|---|
|   | FOR     | AGAINST |  |   |
| <i>Missouri—Continued</i>   |         |         |  |   |
| Authorizing the issue of additional bonds not to exceed \$4,600,000 to meet a deficiency in the payment of the soldiers' bonus. . . . .   | 201,218 | 135,234 | 25.8   | 15.6  |
| Requiring the general assembly to provide by law for safeguarding and promoting the public health. . . . .  | 138,837 | 189,261 | 25.2   | 10.6  |
| Providing for the reorganization of the executive branch of the state government into not more than twelve departments and for an executive budget. . . . .   | 139,154 | 190,524 | 25.3   | 10.7  |
| Providing for the organization of the judiciary, the nomination of candidates for a judicial office at a separate election, and for a judicial council with power to establish rules of procedure and to supervise the operation of the courts. . . . .   | 128,808 | 202,814 | 25.4   | 9.8   |
| Substituting the proposed state board of education for the superintendent of schools among the officials subject to impeachment   | 163,642 | 162,440 | 25.0   | 12.5  |
| Withdrawing the suffrage from aliens who have declared their intention to become citizens, and requiring the legislature to regulate registration of voters in cities of more than 10,000 population instead of merely permitting such regulation in cities of more than 25,000 population. . . . . | 176,580 | 152,713 | 25.2   | 13.5  |
| Giving political parties option to nominate candidates either by party primary or by convention, and requiring the legislature to regulate the process. . . . .   | 122,604 | 205,957 | 25.3   | 9.4   |
| Permitting the consolidation of adjoining counties, classifying cities and villages, prohibiting special or local laws, extending home rule to cities of 3,000 inhabitants or more, adjusting the relation of St. Louis to St. Louis county. . . . .  | 154,873 | 171,166 | 25.0   | 11.9  |
| Reducing the maximum state tax levy for general revenue from 15 mills to 10 mills, empowering cities to borrow money on the security of public utilities for acquiring public utilities, authorizing the financing of local improvements through revolving funds. . . . .                           | 139,704 | 193,317 | 25.6   | 10.8  |
| Permitting the legislature to classify property for purposes of taxation and subjecting motor vehicles to registration fees, license taxes, and the general property tax. . . . .   | 113,123 | 216,986 | 25.4   | 8.7   |
| Abolishing the <i>ex officio</i> state board of equalization. . . . .   | 121,028 | 203,711 | 25.0   | 9.3   |
| Creating an elective state board of education with power to appoint a commissioner of education. . . . .  | 114,022 | 221,994 | 25.8   | 8.8   |
| Permitting the sale of the notes and bonds of corporations at a discount within legal limits and making void all fictitious issues of their stock or bonds. . . . .   | 148,972 | 176,822 | 25.0   | 11.4  |
| Striking out the exemption from military service on grounds of religious scruple. . . . .   | 143,223 | 183,958 | 25.2   | 11.0  |
| Authorizing legislation to provide for the removal, for cause, of all public officers, instead of county, city, town and township officers only, and forfeiting the office of any public official who appoints to the state service any relative within the fourth degree. . . . .                  | 163,729 | 161,648 | 25.0   | 12.5  |
| Authorizing Kansas City to issue serial bonds for public improvements on the vote of two-thirds of the electors voting upon such a proposition. . . . .   | 178,311 | 147,953 | 25.1   | 13.7  |
| Requiring two publications of proposed amendments to the constitution in each of two newspapers in each county and striking out the provisions for amendment by constitutional convention. . . . .  | 155,283 | 168,477 | 24.8   | 11.9  |
| Making provision for carrying the proposed amendments into effect, if adopted, and for continuing in force existing laws pending the changes. . . . .   | 167,478 | 157,912 | 25.0   | 12.8  |

## CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS—Continued

| STATE AND SUBJECT   | VOTE    |         | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST ON THE<br>PROPOSITION | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST FOR THE<br>PROPOSITION |
|---|---------|---------|--|---|
|   | FOR     | AGAINST |  |   |
| <i>Montana</i><br>(By legislature)<br>Substituting a legislative prescription of qualifications for the office of county superintendent of schools and other school district offices for a constitutional declaration of the eligibility of women. ....   | 81,814  | 44,920  | 72.7   | 46.9  |
| Providing for the acceptance and administration by the state of gifts and legacies for the creation of a state permanent revenue fund, a state permanent school fund, a permanent revenue fund for the University of Montana and for the benefit of other useful objects. ....  | 73,574  | 49,267  | 70.4   | 42.2  |
| Authorizing a bond issue of \$4,500,000 for the payment of compensation to World War veterans. ....   | 66,245  | 67,814  | 76.9   | 38.0  |
| <i>Nebraska</i><br>(By initiative)<br>Removing the party circle from the ballot, and party designations from all candidates for county and state offices, and writing the direct primary into the constitution. . .   | 163,932 | 228,485 | 87.5   | 36.5  |
| <i>Nevada</i><br>(By legislature) <sup>12</sup><br>Authorizing the legislature by general laws to enable the electors of cities and towns to frame charters for their own government or to amend existing charters. ....  | 7,698   | 6,185   | 53.4   | 29.6  |
| Striking out a section of the constitution which guaranteed to aliens, bona fide residents of the state, the same property rights as native citizens. ....  | 6,280   | 6,249   | 48.2   | 24.1  |
| Apparently withdrawing from the legislature a slight power to restrict or regulate, beyond the constitutional provisions, the conditions of loaning the school funds of the state. ....   | 5,175   | 10,614  | 60.7   | 19.9  |
| <i>New Mexico</i><br>(By legislature)<br>Changing the term of county officers from four to two years, the maximum tenure from two terms to one term, and increasing the period of ineligibility thereafter, for any county office, from two to four years. ....   | 20,685  | 28,363  | 42.6   | 17.9  |
| Changing similarly the terms, tenure, and eligibility of the eight elective officers of the state executive department. ....  | 21,369  | 26,972  | 42.0   | 18.4  |
| Permitting prosecution for crime upon information after a preliminary examination before a magistrate or the waiver of such examination, and providing processes for calling grand juries. ....   | 28,420  | 21,166  | 43.0   | 24.6  |
| <i>North Carolina</i><br>(By legislature)<br>Forbidding the legislature to use any part of any sinking fund for any purpose other than the retirement of the bonds for which created. ....  | 109,439 | 50,571  | 33.3   | 22.7  |
| Exempting from taxation fifty per cent of the value not exceeding \$8,000 of all notes, loans and mortgages given for the purchase or repair of a home, and exempting the home-owner from tax upon fifty per cent of the value, as well, provided the note is listed and taxed in the county where the land lies. (Present constitution exempts purchase price only when not in excess of \$3,000) .... | 149,151 | 46,827  | 40.8   | 31.0  |
| Raising the pay of members of the legislature from four dollars a day for not to exceed sixty days, to \$600 for a session not to exceed sixty days. ....   | 97,248  | 112,606 | 43.7   | 20.2  |

## CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS—Continued

| STATE AND SUBJECT   | VOTE    |         | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST ON THE<br>PROPOSITION | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST FOR THE<br>PROPOSITION |
|---|---------|---------|--|---|
|   | FOR     | AGAINST |  |   |
| <i>North Carolina</i> —Continued  |         |         |  |   |
| With certain exceptions, limiting the power of the legislature to contract debts to an amount equal to seven and one-half per cent of the assessed valuation of the state. (Present constitution forbids, until the bonds of the state shall be at par, the creation of any new debt, with certain exceptions, unless in the same bill there shall be levied a special tax to pay the interest annually)..... | 127,937 | 43,026  | 35.6   | 26.6  |
| <i>North Dakota</i><br>(By legislature)   |         |         |  |   |
| Requiring provision to be made for the retirement of state bonds within thirty years of the date of issue instead of within thirty years of the passage of the law authorizing their issue.....   | 64,996  | 57,345  | 89.4   | 47.5  |
| Making the county judge in counties having 6,000 population or less also the clerk of the district court.....<br>(Voted on at the 1924 primary election, vote for national committeeman being 123,214.)   | 70,447  | 49,762  | 87.9   | 51.5  |
| <i>Oregon</i><br>(By legislature) <sup>12</sup>   |         |         |  |   |
| Providing a literacy qualification for voters.  | 184,031 | 48,645  | 87.8   | 69.4  |
| Declaring the use of all roads, ways, and waterways necessary for the transportation of the raw products of the farm, mine, or forest, or of water, a public use.....   | 134,071 | 65,133  | 75.2   | 50.6  |
| Extending the bonus privileges to certain females engaged in war services in the World War and to veterans of the Spanish-American War who served ninety days....<br>(By initiative)  | 131,199 | 92,446  | 84.4   | 49.5  |
| Making the workmen's compensation law compulsory for all hazardous occupations and requiring every act of the legislature amending the compensation laws or the rulings of the industrial accident commission to be referred to the people.....   | 73,270  | 151,862 | 85.0   | 27.6  |
| <i>South Carolina</i><br>(By legislature) <sup>14</sup>   |         |         |  |   |
| Changing the term of the state superintendent of education from two to four years....   | 12,261  | 12,338  | 48.4   | 24.1  |
| Making legislative sessions biennial instead of annual.....   | 13,102  | 11,757  | 48.9   | 25.8  |
| Changing the term of office of the attorney general from two to four years.....   | 12,358  | 12,163  | 48.3   | 24.3  |
| Changing the term of certain state officers from two to four years, including the secretary of state, treasurer and comptroller general.....  | 12,431  | 12,402  | 48.9   | 24.4  |
| Changing the term of office of the governor from two to four years.....   | 12,677  | 12,558  | 49.7   | 24.9  |
| Changing the beginning of the fiscal year from the first day of January to the first day of July.....   | 11,520  | 12,158  | 46.6   | 22.6  |
| Making it the duty of the governor to call a special session of the legislature upon the petition of two-thirds of the members....  | 11,241  | 11,680  | 45.1   | 22.1  |
| Requiring levy of a tax biennially for the purpose of meeting indebtedness, instead of annually to correspond with the proposal for biennial sessions.....  | 9,652   | 11,132  | 40.9   | 19.0  |
| Abolishing the three mill annual levy by county authorities for school purposes....   | 10,201  | 12,934  | 45.5   | 20.1  |
| Removing a maximum limitation upon the area of school districts.....  | 9,575   | 11,306  | 41.1   | 18.8  |
| Modifying the limitation upon bonded indebtedness by adding a proviso as to cities of more than 1,000 inhabitants.....  | 8,646   | 10,716  | 38.1   | 12.0  |
| Modifying the power of Greenville and Spartanburg abutting property for permanent improvements.....   | 8,454   | 10,445  | 37.2   | 16.6  |



## CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS—Continued

| STATE AND SUBJECT  | VOTE    |         | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST ON THE<br>PROPOSITION | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST FOR THE<br>PROPOSITION |
|--|---------|---------|--|---|
|  | FOR     | AGAINST |  |   |
| <i>South Carolina</i> —Continued   |         |         |  |   |
| Thirty-nine proposals excepting various local government areas from the constitutional limitations imposed upon their indebtedness (8% of assessed valuation for any single area, 15% for any combination of areas.) (Average). All failed of adoption. ....   | 7,957   | 10,511  | 36.3   | 15.6  |
| <i>Texas</i>   |         |         |  |   |
| (By legislature) <sup>15</sup>   |         |         |  |   |
| Increasing to seven-tenths of a mill the tax for a confederate soldier pension fund (The original confederate pension amendment was adopted in 1912, a proposal for an increased levy was defeated at the primary election in 1921). ....  | 808,761 | 79,968  | 43.6   | 31.3  |
| <i>Vermont</i>   |         |         |  |   |
| (By legislature) <sup>16a</sup>  |         |         |  |   |
| Placing men and women on the same footing as to the age before which they can be held to servitude or as apprentices without their consent. ....   | 15,617  | 2,025   | 17.1   | 15.1  |
| Permitting a person accused of a crime not punishable by death or imprisonment in the state prison to waive his right to a jury trial. ....  | 15,377  | 1,684   | 16.5   | 14.0  |
| Enabling the general assembly to enact laws regulating the mode of filling vacancies in the house of representatives. ....   | 15,499  | 1,501   | 16.5   | 15.1  |
| Extending to women the privileges and duties of suffrage. ....   | 15,668  | 1,235   | 16.4   | 15.2  |
| <i>Washington</i>  |         |         |  |   |
| (By legislature)   |         |         |  |   |
| Authorizing the legislature by general law to classify the counties on a basis of population and to provide different officers in different counties and salaries in accordance with population and to provide for the strict accountability of all such officers for the fees collected by them. ....   | 137,088 | 129,003 | 68.1   | 35.1  |
| Directing the legislature to provide for a commission to locate the harbor lines in navigable waters in or in front of the corporate limits of cities, and forbidding the state to sell or lease to any private person any rights beyond such harbor limits, or to sell rights to the area between the harbor lines and the line of ordinary high water. . . | 99,694  | 136,749 | 60.5   | 25.5  |
| <i>Wisconsin</i>   |         |         |  |   |
| (By legislature)   |         |         |  |   |
| Providing constitutional home rule for cities and villages. ....   | 299,792 | 190,165 | 61.5   | 37.6  |
| Authorizing the state to appropriate not exceeding two-tenths mill tax for acquiring the forests of the state and improving them (Constitution now permits appropriations for public improvements only for highways). ....   | 336,330 | 173,563 | 64.0   | 42.2  |
| Permitting the legislature to establish additional circuit judges in any county exceeding 85,000 in population (Legislature at present possesses such power for Milwaukee alone). ....   | 240,207 | 226,562 | 58.6   | 30.1  |
| <i>Wyoming</i>   |         |         |  |   |
| (By legislature) <sup>16</sup>   |         |         |  |   |
| Authorizing the levy of a severance license tax on mines and mining claims. ....   | 39,109  | 27,796  | 82.5   | 49.8  |
| Authorizing the application of one-third the amount of royalties arising from the lease of school lands to the support of public schools. ....   | 60,903  | 17,942  | 88.6   | 64.8  |

MEASURES SUBMITTED TO THE VOTERS BY THE LEGISLATURES VOLUNTARILY, OR  
BECAUSE REQUIRED TO DO SO BY THE CONSTITUTION, OR BY  
VIRTUE OF POPULAR PETITION

| STATE AND SUBJECT   | VOTE      |         | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST ON THE<br>PROPOSITION | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST FOR THE<br>PROPOSITION |
|---|-----------|---------|--|---|
|   | FOR       | AGAINST |  |   |
| <i>Arizona</i><br>(By petition)<br>Providing that any candidate for a partisan or a non-partisan nomination, who should receive fifty-one per cent of the total number of votes cast at such primary, should be the only nominee for such office whose name would be printed upon the ballot . . .  | 13,166    | 34,360  | 63.0   | 17.4  |
| <i>Illinois</i><br>(Required by the constitution)<br>Authorizing the lease of the Illinois and Michigan canal and its right of way or any part thereof with certain restrictions and on certain terms . . . . .   | 1,030,272 | 505,234 | 59.5   | 39.9  |
| (Majority all votes cast at election required for approval.)<br>Prohibiting branch banks . . . . .  | 1,088,153 | 517,827 | 62.2   | 42.1  |
| Amending the banking law with the intent further to safeguard the interests of depositors in the state banks . . . . .  | 709,976   | 364,165 | 41.6   | 27.5  |
| Authorizing a bond issue to the amount of \$100,000,000 to provide hard-surfaced roads over certain specified routes, with provision for an annual tax to pay the interest and retire the bonds in thirty years but permitting such payment to be made from other sources of revenue and requiring the money in the motor vehicle law road fund to be first used for such purpose . . . . . | 1,561,637 | 544,250 | 81.6   | 60.5  |
| <i>Kansas</i><br>(Required by constitution)<br>Providing a bond-issue of \$1,000,000 to pay compensation to veterans of the war with Spain, the Philippine insurrection, and the China relief expedition . . . . .  | 250,282   | 855,940 | 76.7   | 37.9  |
| <i>Kentucky</i><br>(Required by constitution) <sup>17</sup><br>Authorizing a \$75,000,000 bond issue for roads . . . . .  | 275,873   | 374,319 | 82.5   | 35.0  |
| <i>Massachusetts</i><br>(By petition)<br>Prohibiting the manufacture, transportation, importation or exportation of intoxicating liquor as defined by law, or certain non-intoxicating beverages, unless there shall have been obtained the permit required by the law of the United States . . . . .   | 454,556   | 446,473 | 77.5   | 39.1  |
| Taxing gasoline two cents a gallon, distributing half the proceeds to the municipalities in proportion to the amount of tax paid, and half to the state department of public works . . . . .  | 281,631   | 547,460 | 71.3   | 24.2  |
| Requiring a license and bond for engaging in the business of receiving deposits of money or for transmitting the same to foreign countries . . . . .  | 455,141   | 187,228 | 53.5   | 37.4  |
| (Voluntarily)<br>Taking a vote on the retention of daylight-saving . . . . .  | 492,339   | 426,759 | 73.6   | 36.9  |
| Taking a vote on the ratification of the child-labor amendment by the general court . . .   | 241,461   | 697,663 | 80.8   | 20.7  |
| <i>Montana</i><br>(Voluntarily)<br>Repealing what was an initiated measure of 1912 to provide a presidential preference primary and the direct election of delegates to the national conventions . . . . .  | 77,948    | 57,540  | 77.7   | 44.7  |
| <i>New Hampshire</i><br>(Required by the constitution)<br>Proposing a constitutional convention . . . . .   | 22,520    | 42,616  | 39.6   | 13.7  |

SEE FOOTNOTES ON PAGES 64-65

MEASURES SUBMITTED TO THE VOTERS BY THE LEGISLATURES VOLUNTARILY, OR  
BECAUSE REQUIRED TO DO SO BY THE CONSTITUTION, OR BY  
VIRTUE OF POPULAR PETITION—*Continued*

| STATE AND SUBJECT  | VOTE      |         | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST ON THE<br>PROPOSITION | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST FOR THE<br>PROPOSITION |
|--|-----------|---------|--|---|
|  | FOR       | AGAINST |  |   |
| <i>New Jersey</i><br>(Required by the constitution) <sup>18</sup><br>Proposing a bond issue not to exceed \$8,000,-<br>000 for the construction of bridges or tun-<br>nels for vehicular or other traffic across<br>the Delaware and Hudson rivers. ....                         | 412,820   | 110,318 | 48.1   | 38.0  |
| <i>New York</i><br>(Required by the constitution)<br>Proposing a bond issue not to exceed \$15,000,-<br>000 in amount for the extension and im-<br>provement of existing state parks and<br>parkways in order to create a comprehen-<br>sive and unified state park system. .... | 1,542,928 | 556,920 | 64.2   | 47.2  |
| <i>North Carolina</i><br>(Required by the constitution)<br>Proposing a bond-issue of \$8,500,000 to pro-<br>vide port-terminals and water transporta-<br>tion. ....  | 126,820   | 183,913 | 64.7   | 26.4  |
| Proposing a bond-issue of \$2,000,000 for a<br>revolving fund to enable World War vet-<br>erans to acquire urban or rural houses. ....   | 143,016   | 62,261  | 42.7   | 29.7  |
| (Held by the supreme court to have failed<br>of adoption because of the wording of the<br>act.)  |           |         |  |   |
| <i>North Dakota</i><br>(By petition)<br>Providing that precinct committeemen of<br>the parties be apportioned among the pre-<br>cincts in proportion to the party vote for<br>president, each precinct being entitled to<br>one committeeman. ....                               | 54,867    | 65,747  | 88.2   | 40.1  |
| Providing non-partisan nomination and elec-<br>tion of state officers and members of the<br>legislature but permitting candidates to<br>have printed after their names on the ballot<br>in not to exceed five words, the principles<br>or faction which he represents. ....      | 53,914    | 66,821  | 88.1   | 39.4  |
| Relating to the organization of the state and<br>county committees of the political parties.   | 53,449    | 64,093  | 85.9   | 39.0  |
| Validating a tax settlement made by county<br>commissioners and the state tax commis-<br>sioner with banks practically on a basis of<br>the personalty rate, for a period during<br>which the state supreme court held bank<br>stock exempt from taxation. ....                  | 56,717    | 64,189  | 88.4   | 41.4  |
| <i>Oregon</i><br>(By petition)<br>Making unlawful the manufacture and sale<br>of any substitute for butter or condensed<br>milk containing vegetable fat. ....   | 91,597    | 157,324 | 94.0   | 34.5  |
| <i>Pennsylvania</i><br>(Required by constitution)<br>Proposing a constitutional convention in 1926   | 329,883   | 988,442 | 61.4   | 15.3  |
| <i>South Carolina</i><br>(Required by constitution)<br>Proposing a bond-issue of \$10,000,000 for<br>buildings at the educational, charitable<br>and penal institutions of the state. ....   | 8,765     | 25,192  | 66.9   | 17.2  |
| <i>South Dakota</i><br>(Required by the constitution) <sup>19</sup><br>Resolution for a constitutional convention...<br>(By petition)<br>Attaching the unorganized county of Todd<br>to the county of Tripp instead of to Lyman,<br>for judicial and other purposes. ....        | 60,235    | 117,086 | 101.5  | 34.4  |
| Repealing the non-partisan method of nomi-<br>nating and electing judges. ....   | 68,463    | 89,440  | 90.3   | 39.1  |
|  | 54,968    | 102,339 | 90.0   | 31.4  |



MEASURES SUBMITTED TO THE VOTERS BY THE LEGISLATURES VOLUNTARILY, OR  
BECAUSE REQUIRED TO DO SO BY THE CONSTITUTION, OR BY  
VIRTUE OF POPULAR PETITION—*Continued*

| STATE AND SUBJECT  | VOTE    |         | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST ON THE<br>PROPOSITION | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST FOR THE<br>PROPOSITION |
|--|---------|---------|--|---|
|  | FOR     | AGAINST |  |   |
| <i>South Dakota—Continued</i>  |         |         |  |   |
| Advancing about four months the time for certain steps in the primary election process, the precinct election, the county proposal meeting, the state proposal meeting, etc.....   | 54,163  | 102,240 | 89.5   | 31.0  |
| Changing the bond required of public warehouses to correspond to the value of the grain in storage, instead of to the capacity of the elevator, and compelling warehouses to receive grain offered for storage and hold it until disposed of by the owner..... | 45,974  | 107,859 | 88.0   | 26.3  |
| <i>Tennessee</i>   |         |         |  |   |
| (Required by constitution)<br>Resolution for a constitutional convention..   | 58,906  | 82,169  | 49.8   | 27.0  |
| <i>Washington</i>  |         |         |  |   |
| (Voluntarily)<br>Authorizing the sale by any city or town to any other city or town or person, of electric current, the former city or town to pay five percent of the gross receipts from all such sales to the state treasurer.....                          | 99,450  | 208,809 | 78.9   | 25.4  |
| (By petition)<br>Prohibiting the manufacture and sale of any substitute for butter or condensed milk which shall contain any vegetable fat....   | 169,047 | 203,016 | 95.3   | 43.3  |

## MEASURES INITIATED BY POPULAR PETITION, EXCLUDING CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

| STATE AND SUBJECT   | VOTE    |         | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST ON THE<br>PROPOSITION | PERCENTAGE OF<br>VOTE FOR GOVERNOR<br>CAST FOR THE<br>PROPOSITION |
|---|---------|---------|--|---|
|   | FOR     | AGAINST |  |   |
| <i>Arizona</i>  |         |         |  |   |
| Regulating the racing of horses, establishing a racing commission, authorizing the operation of pari-mutuals and forbidding book-making. . . . .  | 12,946  | 38,017  | 67.6   | 17.1  |
| Creating a state highway commission of three elective state officials and two citizen members to assume the highway functions vested at present in the director of state institutions and the appointed state engineer. . . . .   | 15,398  | 32,600  | 63.7   | 20.4  |
| Directing the board of directors of state institutions to make an investigation of power and irrigation possibilities upon the Colorado River, and appropriating \$100,000 for this purpose. . . . .  | 21,460  | 33,910  | 73.4   | 28.4  |
| <i>California</i>   |         |         |  |   |
| Authorizing boxing and wrestling contests for prizes, creating an athletic commission (present law forbids all such contests except strictly amateur contests of not over four rounds). . . . .   | 518,631 | 498,217 | 76.0   | 38.8  |
| Creating a Klamath River fish and game district and prohibiting the construction of any dam on the waters of said district. . . . .   | 560,785 | 363,658 | 69.1   | 41.9  |
| <i>Missouri</i>   |         |         |  |   |
| Providing <sup>20</sup> funds for a state highway system by means of a tax on gasoline and an increase in the fees for motor vehicle registration. . . . .  | 742,836 | 348,007 | 84.1   | 57.3  |
| Providing a system of workmen's compensation. . . . .   | 262,948 | 695,537 | 66.2   | 20.2  |
| <i>Montana</i>  |         |         |  |   |
| Levying an annual license tax upon all mining companies in the state according to the gross value of the product. . . . .   | 87,790  | 65,742  | 88.1   | 50.3  |
| <i>North Dakota</i>   |         |         |  |   |
| Limiting taxes and expenditures for 1925, 6, 7, to 75% of the taxes levied in 1923, making all officials responsible for debts contracted in excess of such limitations, permitting a majority vote of the electors in any subdivision of the state to increase the levy to 90% of the 1923 levy. . . . .   | 97,384  | 102,393 | 106.4  | 51.9  |
| Giving to any person who performs labor on a farm between April 1 and December 1, in any year, a lien on the crops grown during this time on the real estate upon which the labor is performed. . . . .   | 51,550  | 78,174  | 94.8   | 37.7  |
| <i>Oregon</i>   |         |         |  |   |
| Authorizing and regulating the practice of naturopathy. . . . .   | 75,159  | 122,839 | 74.7   | 28.3  |
| Repealing the income tax adopted in 1923. . . . .   | 123,799 | 111,055 | 88.6   | 46.7  |
| <i>Washington</i>   |         |         |  |   |
| Requiring all children between the ages of seven and sixteen years to attend the public schools. . . . .  | 158,922 | 221,500 | 97.4   | 47.0  |
| Limiting tax levies upon real and personal property by state, county, school district, and city or town to forty mills in the aggregate, property being assessed at half its value, provided the rate for subdivisions of the state may be increased on approval of three-fifths of those voting upon the question at a special election. . . . . | 128,677 | 211,948 | 87.2   | 32.9  |
| Granting to every city and town the right to sell electric current to any other city or town or to any person inside or outside its corporate limits, and to exercise the power of eminent domain for this purpose. . . . .   | 139,492 | 217,393 | 91.4   | 35.7  |

PROPOSITIONS VOTED UPON BY THE VOTERS IN THOSE STATES IN WHICH THE  
INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM, OR EITHER, MAY BE EMPLOYED, 1923

| STATE AND SUBJECT  | VOTE    |                       |
|--|---------|-----------------------|
|  | FOR     | AGAINST               |
| CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS <sup>21</sup>  |         |                       |
| <i>Maryland</i><br>(By legislature)<br>Authorizing mayor and council of Baltimore to increase salaries of judges of supreme bench,<br>Baltimore City .....   | 61,525  | 67,094                |
| <i>Michigan</i><br>(By legislature)<br>Relating to the incorporation of ports and port-districts .....   | 266,623 | 207,926               |
| <i>Ohio</i><br>(By legislature)<br>Enabling the industrial commission to penalize an employer for the injury, disease or<br>death of an employee resulting from the former's disregard of a law or order designed<br>to protect the latter by an amount between fifteen and fifty per cent of the maximum<br>compensation allowable .....          | 588,851 | 528,572               |
| Eliminating the words "white male" from the Ohio constitution .....  | 536,762 | 421,744               |
| Authorizing the publication of notice of constitutional amendments and proposed laws<br>in newspapers, at the option of the secretary of state, instead of requiring the use of<br>publicity pamphlets .....   | 351,515 | 493,786               |
| <i>Oklahoma</i><br>(By legislature)<br>Authorizing the enactment of a compulsory workmen's compensation measure .....  | 137,356 | 120,761               |
| Making eligible to the constitutional elective offices persons citizens of the United States,<br>thirty years old and qualified voters for three years (removing word "male") .....  | 173,262 | 84,445 <sup>22</sup>  |
| Providing <sup>23</sup> a soldiers' bonus in the form of industrial rehabilitation, equalized compensa-<br>tion, farm or home aid, and fixing the amount of such loan or compensation at \$55,000,000<br>Limiting the ad valorem tax rate to 31½ mills and providing a state levy to create a fund<br>totaling \$15 for each child in school ..... | 120,219 | 142,682               |
| Authorizing the legislature to pay all lawful claims against the Depositors' Guaranty<br>Fund, provided no direct ad valorem tax should be used for such purpose .....   | 144,768 | 116,711 <sup>24</sup> |
| (By initiative petition)<br>Providing for the convening of the state legislature upon written request of a majority<br>of the members of the house of representatives for investigating the conduct of state<br>officers subject to impeachment .....  | 111,081 | 160,668               |
|  | 209,462 | 70,638                |
| MEASURES REFERRED BY POPULAR PETITION  |         |                       |
| <i>Ohio</i><br>Providing a county budget commission and raising the tax rate limit for certain units of<br>government and permitting this limit to be exceeded upon approval of 60% of the<br>electors .....   | 367,377 | 728,087               |
| Creating a new county assessing board designed especially to reach personal property,<br>making the county the unit for the assessment of personal property, and abolishing the<br>elective assessor .....   | 231,162 | 766,163               |
| <i>Oregon</i><br>Levying an income tax .....   | 58,647  | 58,131                |
| MEASURES SUBMITTED BY MEANS OF THE INITIATIVE PETITION   |         |                       |
| <i>Maine</i><br>(Indirect)<br>Reducing the maximum legal number of hours' work for male minors and for females from<br>54 to 48 per week .....   | 33,991  | 53,784                |
| <i>Ohio</i><br>(Indirect)<br>Providing an old-age pension system .....   | 390,599 | 777,391               |

<sup>1</sup> If the proposition was approved, the vote "for" is printed in italics; if rejected, the vote "against" is printed in italics.

<sup>2</sup> The percentages which appear in the supplement to the March, 1925, *Science Quarterly* are used here, without independent calculation, except in the case of Missouri.

<sup>3</sup> Percentage computed on basis of vote for U. S. Senator.

<sup>4</sup> A special supreme court held these amendments adopted (268 S. W. Rep. 865); later the third was invalidated because of procedural irregularities (273 S. W. Rep. 355).

<sup>5</sup> See above, where it seems to be stated that this amendment failed.

<sup>6</sup> See above, where this amendment is reported to have passed.

<sup>7</sup> See *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, XIX, 542, where this proposal is said to have passed. No mention is made of a maximum exemption, nor of the necessity for the control of the U. S. government.

<sup>8</sup> Percentages computed on basis total vote cast.

<sup>9</sup> Percentages computed on basis vote for presidential electors.

<sup>10</sup> Percentages computed on basis total vote cast.

<sup>11</sup> See *Nat. Mun. Rev.*, XIII, 96-102 (Feb. 1924); W. W. Hollingsworth: *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, XVIII, 8-33 (Feb. 1924); Loeb. *Ibid.*, 329-330 (May 1924).

<sup>12</sup> Percentages computed on basis vote for representative-at-large.

<sup>13</sup> Percentages computed on basis vote for U. S. Senator.



- <sup>14</sup> Percentages computed on basis vote for presidential electors.  
<sup>15</sup> Percentages computed on basis vote for presidential electors.  
<sup>16</sup> Vermont amendments were voted on at the presidential primary, March 4.  
<sup>17</sup> Percentages computed on basis total vote cast in election.  
<sup>18</sup> Percentages computed on basis vote for U. S. Senator.  
<sup>19</sup> Percentages computed on basis vote for presidential election.  
<sup>20</sup> Percentages computed on basis vote for U. S. Senator.  
<sup>21</sup> See *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, XIX, 542, where this proposition appears to be considered a constitutional amendment, and is reported to have failed.  
<sup>22</sup> See *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, XIX, 542, where Oklahoma is said to have extended its bonus to women.  
<sup>23</sup> Amendment held void by state supreme court. Doubt has been expressed as to the legality of the entire election of October 2, 1925.  
<sup>24</sup> Two unsuccessful attempts were made before the election, October 2, to enjoin the state election authorities from holding it. The day had been set by the governor in pursuance of a resolution of the legislature. The governor in vain, on October 1, recalled the election. In *State v. State Board of Equalization* (230 P. 743), the supreme court held that although the school levy amendment had received a majority of the votes cast at the election (289,100), since two-thirds of the total membership of each house of the legislature had not voted to submit the proposal at a special election, it had not been constitutionally adopted.

## RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

THE STATE POLICE, ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION. By Bruce Smith. New York: The Macmillan Co. Pp. 281.

"The State Police" by Bruce Smith is a timely and splendidly written contribution that should be read by every person interested in law enforcement. As briefly stated in the preface, "It deals with the position of the police in state administration, their jurisdiction, the powers delegated to the administrative head, the direction, control, compensation and welfare of the rank and file, the distribution of patrol units and the patrol methods which are employed, criminal investigation, identification and crime prevention."

Rural police problems have increased enormously during the past century and consequently better methods must be devised to meet this complex social situation. State police are recommended by the author who conservatively adds, "If after longer experience the verdict of history is to the effect that the state police are not the proper agents to deal with the new social order of the country, the problem of rural crime in the new conditions will have to be faced in some other fashion."

There are very few, even among the most optimistic, who can successfully defend the present sheriff-constable system. Constant changes in personnel operate to prevent efficiency and precludes the possibility of sheriffs or constables from becoming efficient crime investigators. There are notable exceptions. As a general rule, however, sheriffs and constables are voted out of office at the end of their first term, hence they cannot acquire the police training necessary to cope successfully with modern police problems. Inefficiency of the sheriff-constable system is demonstrated by the author who compares this method with the more efficient state police system.

Municipal police are also contrasted with the state police organizations and suggestions are offered showing how each may be improved.

The particular features which serve to make virile and efficient state police are presented without embellishment. Defects in organization and administration are cleverly exposed by object lessons carefully selected from the several state police forces. This book is an honest and

critical survey of the state police, unencumbered by unnecessary detail, but full of wholesome information.

Berkeley, Calif.

AUGUST VOLLMER.



AMERICAN CITY GOVERNMENT. By William Anderson. New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1925. 675 pp.

This review is undertaken with a very considerable sense of embarrassment because of the reviewer's consciousness that certain of his comments are likely to be attributed to the jealousy which an author is supposed to feel with respect to any book which may compete with his own. Let it be said at the outset, therefore, that the present reviewer and the author of the volume under consideration are personal and professional friends who, though they represent different points of view and somewhat divergent schools of opinion, are not incapable of appreciating the merits of each other's work.

Dr. Anderson's book impresses the reviewer as one of the best treatises on municipal government ever written in this country. It is scholarly without being pedantic, and, despite the fact that it is packed with details, the author has so thoroughly mastered his materials that he has been able for the most part to keep the details in proper subordination to the main theme of his discourse. This is indeed a rare achievement.

The writing of a book of this sort, and particularly of one designed for use as a textbook, involves a most perplexing problem in selection and emphasis. The governing considerations usually are the author's personal experience and interests. It is quite evident from this book that Dr. Anderson's interests are centered upon the legal, administrative, and political aspects of city government. It is certainly desirable that these phases of the municipal problem should be adequately treated; but the reviewer is unable to resist the conviction that the book would be more serviceable if greater attention had been paid to the functional side of city government. It seems unfortunate that the students who use this book are not to be introduced to such subjects as city planning, public utility regulation, public safety, public works, and public welfare.

In his preface Dr. Anderson has issued a warning against the danger of attempting "to oversimplify problems which are, after all, somewhat complex." In so doing he imposes upon himself a responsibility for omniscience with respect to fact material which few would care to assume. Dr. Anderson is too painstaking a scholar to be guilty of conspicuous errors of fact; but the factual basis of municipal government is so prodigiously complex—it is infinitely more so than that of any other subject in the domain of political science—that he, like all other writers in the field of city government, cannot escape the charge of being wrong on various points of fact. Such being the case, the mention of debatable items of one sort or another cannot be taken as an indictment of the substantial accuracy of the book. For example, one might very well dispute the assertion (p. 186) that, "Very clearly there is no such thing as 'a Jewish vote,' despite all that is said about it." That statement may be true of the cities with which Dr. Anderson is familiar; but had he access to the inner councils of the regular political organizations in certain other cities, he could not mistake the fact that there is most decidedly "a Jewish vote" in those cities, and that it is just as deliverable as any other group vote.

This instance perfectly illustrates the difficulties which beset the student of municipal government. There are more than 15,000 incorporated municipalities in the United States, and at least 300 of these are of sufficient size to come within the purview of the student of municipal affairs. No individual can hope to have an intimate knowledge of conditions in more than a small fraction of these, and no book can be expected to contain generalizations which will be accurate with respect to all of them.

CHESTER C. MAXEY.

Whitman College.



NEW ASPECTS OF POLITICS. By Charles E. Merriam. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1925. Pp. xvi, 253.

This volume is made up of eight essays, some of which have already appeared in various period-

icals. All of them possess a unity in point of view despite a seemingly wide variety in the topics dealt with. For they have all something to do with the "New Politics," as Professor Merriam calls his general theme. They are part of the large contribution which the author has made and is making in the field of political reasoning.

Perhaps the most interesting of the eight essays is the one in which Professor Merriam discusses the relations between politics and psychology. He shows how the latter can help the former, which would seem to be a rather superfluous task in view of the way the psychologists have recently swarmed into the field of political science with an assurance that they can solve its age-old problems by merely calculating the means and the modes, by noting the "behavioristic" tendencies of "atypical" elements in the population, and whatnot. Is there any science this side of paradise which the psychologists cannot help, according to their own modest admissions?

But Professor Merriam's essays are not all tied up with the psychological approach. There is a good discussion of the relation between the scientific study of political phenomena and the science of statistics. Here we are on firmer ground for when all is said and done figures must inevitably be for the political scientist, as for the economist, his most dependable data. The prudent economist may flirt with "psychological factors," but he keeps his eye pretty closely on the bank clearings and the price level. Nevertheless Professor Merriam's work is timely and useful because political scientists as a class have given too little attention to the human equation. Politics is a human activity, very much so—an activity in which the emotions often play a much greater part than cold reason does. The author's plea for more study of man as a social animal is entirely to the point, and he gives some suggestions as to the lines along which this study may be most advantageously pursued. All in all these essays make a stimulating book, worthy not alone to be read but to be pondered—if there is any pondering left in these busy days.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO.



# GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH CONFERENCE NOTES

EDITED BY ARCH MANDEL

**Annual Meeting.**—In joint session with the National Municipal League, the American Association of Civic Secretaries and the American Civic Association, the Governmental Research Conference held its fifteenth meeting in Pittsburgh on November 17, 18 and 19, 1925. On November 17, the first day of the meeting, the research group met separately, carrying out a special program.

Research bureaus from coast to coast were represented, the most distant one being the San Francisco Bureau, the director of which, W. H. Nanry, appeared on the program. With the exception of a few brief recesses, the group was in session all day, from 10 A. M. to 11 P. M. Inasmuch as a full copy of the proceedings will be provided every member of the Governmental Research Conference, there is no need to dwell upon the contents of the papers presented nor the discussion following each. It may be noted in passing, however, that the outstanding feature of this meeting was the thoroughness and the thoughtfulness with which the papers were prepared. For this and for the general quality of the program, the Conference is indebted to the Program Committee, consisting of A. E. Buck, S. B. Story, C. E. McCombs and Walter Matscheck. It is hoped that the plan of having all papers prepared and submitted to the Program Committee before the Conference will serve as a precedent for subsequent meetings.

From the point of view of business transacted for the promotion of the Conference and of the research movement, this meeting also excelled. Although no set program was planned for the evening of November 17, an impromptu dinner and evening session were arranged, which was attended by every delegate present at the earlier meeting. This session was devoted to discussing ways and means of promoting the research movement, methods of establishing closer working relationships among bureaus, and prospects of establishing a clearing house or national organization.

As a result of the action taken at this meeting, the Executive Committee, with the approval of

the general Conference, before whom the matter was placed, decided that the 1926 meeting should mark the celebration of twenty years of municipal research, and that an appropriate program should be arranged. An effort will be made to have in attendance, not only as large a number as possible of the researchers now in the work, but also members of the boards of trustees and those who were connected with municipal research in the past. It was also decided to have in readiness for this meeting a story of twenty years of municipal research. Members will be notified later what is expected of them in this regard, and it is hoped that full co-operation will be secured. The Executive Committee itself will be in charge of the program and of the publication.

The Executive Committee elected for the coming year is composed of L. D. Upson, S. B. Story, A. E. Buck, Luther Gulick and Wm. C. Beyer. Mr. Upson was elected chairman by the Committee and Mr. Story vice chairman. Arch Mandel was elected secretary.



**Taxpayers' League of St. Louis County, Duluth.**—A ten-year financial program is being prepared by the League for the city of Duluth. This program will be studied by a group of civic organizations, who will submit it to the public and to the city council. In connection with this program, an effort is being made to determine on a scientific basis the economic limit of taxation for Duluth. In addition to the usual procedure of forecasting future growth of population, are the estimated increases in assessed valuation and predicting increased costs. Studies will be made of the amount of taxes that may be levied against various types of property, enabling it at the same time to realize a reasonable return on the invested capital.

Duluth has before it a contract with the Zenith Furnace Company for the purchase of gas. The contract, which will run for a period of ten years, provides that a monthly average of 525 B.T.U.'s shall be maintained, and that the city shall pay the manufacturing company 38½ cents per

thousand cubic feet. The city in turn will sell this to the consumer for 75 cents per thousand cubic feet for domestic consumption and 50 cents per thousand cubic feet for heating purposes. The city council and the company have agreed to the terms of the contract, and its passage is anticipated at an early date.

The city council, Duluth, has passed an ordinance providing for competitive designs for a new million-dollar city hall, the competition to be conducted by the American Institute of Architects. The Taxpayers' League drafted the ordinance.



New York Institute for Public Service.—From New York City, the Institute for Public Service reports that it has sold its three loose-leaf current topics magazines, after they passed a circulation of 200,000 and has returned to the municipal field. During the municipal campaign and immediately after election, it issued sixty-two non-partisan "No Matter Who's Elected" bulletins. No. 30 of this series was "Non-Partisan Subway Primer," a pocket pamphlet which answers thirty questions, one page to the question. After election, it issued a summary to twenty points regarding special assessments or special benefits from subways that it says are basic to non-partisan study of that problem. The last of these points states that the official discussions of special assessments for transit in New York and elsewhere are summarized in *Municipal Reference Library Notes* for September 16, 1920.

On December 9, the director, Wm. H. Allen, was dinner guest of officers and committee members of the Baltimore Real Estate Board to help a special committee take final steps toward organizing a local fact-finding and reporting service with respect to governmental affairs.

In New York, the Institute opened a help-your-city-suggestion box and interested several groups, such as the City Federation of Women's Clubs, community councils and one or two trade bodies in formulating concrete suggestions and concrete helpful information in response to Mayor-elect Walker's request for citizen coöperation.



Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research.—The Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research reports substantial progress toward permanent registration of voters, which has been recom-

mended by Governor Pinchot's special election commission for adoption in all the cities of Pennsylvania.

To researchers, the steps by which this improvement has been advanced toward the "goal line" in Pennsylvania may be of special interest. In October, 1924, the Philadelphia Bureau published an issue of *Citizens' Business* on permanent registration, describing the new system in Minneapolis. Prior to that time, it may be doubted whether more than a dozen people in Philadelphia knew there was such an arrangement as permanent registration. Three newspapers quoted *Citizens' Business*, and two wrote editorials. A member of the Pennsylvania legislature asked the Bureau to draw a bill for the establishment of permanent registration in Philadelphia.

The bill concerning Philadelphia was drawn and introduced. Before its delivery to the legislator who had asked for it, it was submitted by the Philadelphia Bureau to the Committee of Seventy, Philadelphia's principal election-reform organization, for comment and criticism. This organization asked permission to sponsor the bill, and gave it wide publicity, both locally and before the legislature; though, naturally, the bill was looked upon by all concerned as an educational measure, and no one was surprised when the legislative session of 1925 closed with the bill still in committee. Meanwhile, the Committee of Seventy had asked the Philadelphia Bureau to study the registration systems of other cities, notably Boston. The Bureau also continued the issue of occasional numbers of *Citizens' Business* devoted to permanent registration; always simply presenting facts and urging citizens to consider the subject and form their own conclusions.

The Philadelphia Bureau's survey of the municipal court of Philadelphia, the beginning of which was announced last summer, is now in full swing. Although regular Bureau staff members are engaged in the survey, a large part of the work is being done by a special staff. William Watson, of the New York Bureau, has made a study of the court's methods of financial control; Arthur Dunham, formerly secretary of the Social Service Exchange of Philadelphia, has made studies of the central registration bureau and of the bureau of records; Fred R. Johnson, chief probation officer of the Recorder's Court, Detroit, with the assistance of a number of case readers, is appraising the work of the domestic

relations division of the court; Miss Ruth Topping, of the Bureau of Social Hygiene, Inc., of New York, assisted by case readers, is surveying the women's misdemeanants' division; Dr. Kate Holladay Claghorn, of the New York School of Social Work, is studying the statistical department; and Joel D. Hunter, superintendent of the United Charities of Chicago, is heading up a study which will evaluate the work of the juvenile division. It is expected that other parts of the survey will be begun in the near future.



**Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico.**—In conjunction with the annual meeting of this organization, to be held in January, 1926, a general conference of the taxpayers of the state is being arranged.

During the months of July, August, and September, the staff of the Taxpayers' Association assisted the State Tax Commission and the county and other municipal tax levying authorities in the preparation of budgets for the ensuing year and in the determination of necessary levies.



**New York National Institute of Public Administration.**—Leonard V. Harrison, Secretary of the Civic Affairs Department, of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, recently spent several days at the Institute in consultation with Bruce Smith, on the preparation of a report for the National Crime Commission.

The staff of the Institute arranged a lunch in honor of William H. Nanry of the San Francisco Bureau, who visited New York following the Pittsburgh meeting. Dr. Charles A. Beard was also present at the lunch, as well as the temporary members of the Institute staff, who are engaged on work for the Special Joint Committee on Taxation and Retrenchment of the New York State Legislature.

The Institute has just completed a survey of the organization and financial administration of Glen Ridge, New Jersey. Members of the staff taking part in this study are W. A. Bassett, Luther Gulick, Bruce Smith, C. E. McCombs, Paul Studensky, and William Watson.

At the request of Senator Courtlandt Nicholl, chairman of the commission on taxation of property of the Port of New York Authority, the Institute is making a study of taxation of Port Authority property. W. A. Bassett, Philip Cornick, and Luther Gulick are engaged on this study.

**Kansas City Public Service Institute.**—The election for the first council under the new Kansas City charter was held November 3. The council elected is of much higher type than past councils have been. The city manager has not yet been selected. It is expected that political considerations may play some part in the appointment of the city manager, since the council campaign was quite partisan. Five Democrats and four Republicans were elected, the mayor being one of the minority. The quality of the council members, however, encourages the belief that a capable manager will be chosen.

Of proposals aggregating \$26,610,000, submitted to the voters on November 3, only two, totaling \$2,400,000, were approved. These two are for fire equipment and stations and for hospital additions. All of the proposals received more than a majority of the votes cast, but only the two above mentioned secured the required two-thirds. The Public Service Institute took part in the preparation of the bond program and is now co-operating with a committee appointed previous to the election to supervise in an advisory way expenditure of the bond funds.

The new charter requires the council to prepare an administrative code previous to the time it takes office. Inasmuch as the administrative machinery of the city government will be almost entirely reorganized under the new charter, and since an almost entirely new accounting system and financial procedure is required, the preparation of this administrative code is an extensive and difficult piece of work. The Institute expects to co-operate.



**Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research.**—During October and November the Bureau has been spending most of its energies in two directions.

1. It co-operated with the Board of Trade and some twenty other citizen organizations in an effort to increase the percentage of voting efficiency at the next municipal elections, to be held on January 1, 1926. This co-operation has been given by supplying information and speakers. White Paper No. 92, which contained a map of the city with neighborhood districts, showed the percentage of voters in each district for the city council and board of education. This paper awakened much interest and has had to be reprinted several times to meet the calls.

2. The Bureau published the first two numbers of a series of papers on the council-manager form



of government. For the first time, the board of control have given official attention to this form of municipal government, by devoting an hour and a half to its discussion. As comparatively few Canadian cities are organized as council-manager cities, ideas with regard to the city are not widely disseminated, and the series is awakening a great deal of interest.



**Citizens' Research Institute of Canada.**—Proceedings of the third annual convention of the Canadian Tax Conference and the second annual convention of the Civil Service Research Conference, conducted by the Institute, are now ready for distribution. Advance orders for 500 additional copies were received.

A short comparative "cost of living" study for four Ontario cities was made for a large industrial corporation during the month of November.



**Vancouver Bureau of Civic Research.**—Vancouver, B. C., has been added to the list of cities having a research bureau. The function of this organization is similar to that of other bureaus; namely, to study municipal problems and publish facts for promotion of intelligent consideration by citizens. The head of this Bureau is T. Howard Goodwin, who spent three months in Toronto, studying municipal research methods with Dr. Brittain.

The first assignment undertaken by this organization is the problem of water supply for the metropolitan district, of which Vancouver is a part.



**Cleveland Municipal Research Bureau.**—Alden C. Fensel joined the staff of the Cleveland Bureau as engineer. Mr. Fensel is a graduate of civil engineering from the University of Wisconsin, majoring in economics and administration. His university work was supplemented by training in the National Institute of Public Administration. The major part of his engineering experience was obtained in the city of Milwaukee, where Mr. Fensel was engaged in general city engineering, city planning, and port development. He was also employed as engineer and assistant to the manager of the city of Ashtabula, Ohio.

**Minneapolis Bureau of Municipal Research.**—Recently, the Bureau made a survey of the Glen Lake Home School for Boys, a detention home under the jurisdiction in part of the juvenile court and in part, the board of county commissioners. Criticisms have been made of its management by a member of the board of county commissioners and a resolution passed, proposing the abolishing of certain positions and activities. It is in this connection that the Bureau was requested to make the survey, the report on which has just been submitted to the grand jury.



**The Ohio Institute.**—Through Prentice Reeves who was recently added to the staff of the Ohio Institute, this organization is emphasizing promotion of an improved penal and correctional program for the state. This problem has been called especially to the attention of the people by the joint legislative committee appointed by the last general assembly to study the situation and to develop a plan for future progress.

This committee, after a survey of the situation, made the following specific recommendations for future legislative action:

1. That a system of classification for male prisoners be adopted for the Ohio State Penitentiary, the Ohio State Reformatory, and the London Prison Farm.
2. That the Ohio Penitentiary be used as the clearing-house in the carrying out of this classification of prisoners.
3. That no further housing facilities for the accommodation of more prisoners be provided at the Ohio Penitentiary or at the Ohio Reformatory.
4. That the London Prison Farm be further enlarged as to housing, land and industries.
5. That the present inmates of the three penal institutions be examined and classified and disposed of as follows:
  - a. The psychopathic delinquents to be provided for at the Ohio State Reformatory.
  - b. The anti-social group to be provided for at the Ohio State Penitentiary.
  - c. The better class of prisoners to be provided for at the London Prison Farm.
6. That a system of internal classification of women prisoners at Marysville Reformatory be established.

In addition to working with officials concerned, the Institute is promoting citizen interest.

## NOTES AND EVENTS

BY A. E. BUCK

**Cincinnati's City Manager Selected.**—It has been announced that Cincinnati has selected Lieut.-Col. Clarence O. Sherrill to be city manager under the new city charter. The position will pay \$25,000, which is the same salary that the city manager of Cleveland receives. Colonel Sherrill comes from Washington, D. C., where he has recently been in charge of all public buildings and grounds in the national capital. He is a North Carolinian by birth and a graduate of West Point. As an engineer officer he served in the Philippines, at Mobile on the rivers and harbors commission, at New Orleans during the floods of 1912 and 1923, and on the Panama Canal. He was over seas with the A. E. F. and became chief of staff on the 77th Division. The Cincinnati papers comment very favorably upon his ability as an executive and anticipate a successful city administration under his direction.

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**Postponement of the International Congress of Administrative Sciences in Brussels.**—We are informed by Leonard D. White of the University of Chicago that at a recent meeting of the permanent commission of the International Congress of Administrative Sciences in Brussels, it was decided to postpone the third Congress, to be held in Paris, from June 1926 to June 1927. This action was taken on account of the inability of the French committee to make the necessary arrangements in view of the unsettled political situation. The Secretary-General, M. de Vuyst, is making every effort to insure the meeting in Paris in 1927.

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**Tax Reduction in Baltimore under New Administration.**—Mayor Jackson of Baltimore has issued a statement, following the annual budget meetings, saying that the city's tax rate for 1926 will be \$2.48 per \$100. This rate is 10 cents lower than the rate for 1925 and 42 cents lower than the rate for 1924. The mayor states that when he came into office in May 1923, the tax rate was \$2.97 and there was a deficit of \$1,130,000. Since the beginning of his administration the city tax rate has been reduced 49 cents and, besides, the entire deficit has been wiped out.

**More About the P. R. Elections in Cincinnati and Cleveland.**—We are informed by the Proportional Representation League that as a result of the P. R. election in Cincinnati on November 3, six of the nine councilmen elected were candidates of the new charter committee. Of these six, four are independent Republicans and two are Democrats. They polled about two thirds of all the votes. The organization minority polled a little less than one third of the votes and elected three councilmen. Nine out of every ten voters who cast valid ballots helped elect a representative in the council. Of the nine councilmen elected the *Cincinnati Enquirer* said editorially on November 17: "The nine new members of the council are as distinguished for high ability and sterling trustworthiness of character as nine men well could be."

The vote was heavy for a non-presidential year, about 120,000 valid ballots being cast for the council. Only about 3½ per cent of the council ballots were invalid or blank, showing that most of the voters had found no difficulty with the new method of voting. At this election the voters approved certain municipal bond issues for the first time in many years and increased the salary of councilmen from \$1,150 to \$5,000 a year. The new city council will choose the first city manager for Cincinnati.

At the same time Cincinnati was voting by P. R. for the first time, Cleveland was voting by it for the second time. Twenty-five members of the council were chosen from four multi-member districts. As in the first election two years ago, Republicans, Democrats, and Independents were elected from each district. All but three of the outgoing members were re-elected, and the party complexion of the council remained unchanged—Republicans 15, Democrats 6, Independents 4. Two Republican councilmen and one Democrat were defeated by other members of their own parties.

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**Pittsburgh Meeting of the American Civic Association.**—The American Civic Association, now in its twenty-first year, held its annual meeting at Pittsburgh on November 17 and 18. In



its program of work for the coming year, which was adopted at this meeting, it outlines several interesting things. The Association is to continue its efforts toward the establishment of complete national park system. It endorses without delay the establishment of the Shenandoah National Park and the Great Smoky National Park. It favors changes in the boundary lines of the Yellowstone, the Sequoia, the Grand Canyon, and the Rainier National Parks, as proposed by the co-ordinating commission of national parks and forests, which will bring into the national park system a portion of the scenic Kaibah National Forest on the north rim of the Grand Canyon, the Kern and the King's River Canyons and the beautiful Tehipits Valley in California, and the Teton Mountains in Wyoming.

The Association endorses the ten-year program of the American Forestry Association which has in prospect a chain of national forests encircling the large centers of population and industry. This program involves the acquisition of 2,500,000 acres in the Great Lakes region, 3,000,000 acres in the White and Appalachian Mountain region, and 2,500,000 acres of the remaining pine forests in the South.

The Association favors a careful study of all public lands still under federal ownership, so that controversies relating to such lands may be settled on a sound basis. This study would include the physical features and the economic value and use of such lands.

Finally the Association urges legislation for the comprehensive planning of the District of Columbia and its environs. It supports the efforts of the Capital Park Commission to create a balanced park system about the national capital. It favors the program of the National Commission on Fine Arts for the proper location and design of all public buildings and grounds in Washington.

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**Study of Administration of Justice in Chicago Proposed.**—A recent issue of the *Union League Club Bulletin* outlines a comprehensive study soon to be made of the administration of justice in Chicago and Cook county. This investigation is to be conducted under the direction of the committee on administration of justice of the public affairs committee of the Union League Club. The plan for the study was prepared by Walter F. Dodd. The study will deal with both

civil and criminal justice. It will cover all courts, state and federal. It is estimated that the study will cost about \$150,000, and will require the co-operation of the various civic agencies as well as the judges and officers of the city and county.

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**International Federation of Local Government Associations.**—John G. Stutz, executive secretary of the City Managers' Association, announces location of the American Headquarters of the American Headquarters of the International Federation of Local Government Associations at the General Municipal Secretariat at Lawrence, Kansas. The purpose of the International Headquarters as located there will be: research in local government, contacts with best methods and accomplishments of cities in other countries, and the compilation and publication of an International Municipal Digest—a digest of the most important local government and administrative news.

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**Ten Years' Road Progress.**—A report on the progress in highway construction throughout the country during the past decade discloses some interesting facts. At the beginning of 1915, there were highway departments in only thirty-one states. Now there are 49, including Hawaii. In 1915 there were 257,291 miles of state, county and township roads, all types of surfacing included. To-day 467,905 miles of improved roads are in use. On state roads, including all types of surfacing, improved mileage went up from 33,477 in 1915 to 128,347 in 1925. On high grade surfacing the mileage advanced in the same period from 14,400 to approximately 40,000 miles.

Total expenditures on all classes of roads in 1915 were \$240,263,000 while in 1925 they were approximately \$1,176,000,000. The amount spent through state highway department in 1915, when there were no federal funds, was \$54,884,000. The approximate amount thus spent in 1925 including federal funds of \$95,749,000, was \$596,176,000.

The total mileage of all roads in the United States is now 3,002,916 miles. The total of state roads is 259,700 miles, and the interstate or 7 per cent system on which state and federal governments are working jointly, approximates 200,000 miles. The latter system is designed to carry interstate traffic and to touch every county seat in the United States.



The system of roads to be known as United States highways, recently selected by the Joint Board on Interstate Highways, comprises 75,884 miles, divided into 145 individual routes. The routes running east and west will be designated by even numbers and those running north and south will bear odd numbers.



**Abstract of the Massachusetts Tax Laws and Summary of State and Local Revenues.**—The Committee on Taxation of the Boston Chamber of Commerce has recently published a useful pamphlet on "The Massachusetts Tax Laws." This pamphlet gives the source and disposition of the public revenues and has tables showing the increase in taxation, both state and local, during the past twelve years. The Committee calls attention to the fact that the federal and state taxes in Massachusetts show a diminution corresponding in some measure to the decrease in the cost of living since 1920, but that the taxes raised for municipal purposes have not in any way reflected the general deflation of prices and living costs, but have continued to increase steadily since the year 1920, as well as before.



**More Discussion of Federal Subsidies to the States.**—The Pennsylvania Chamber of Commerce has recently published an address by Governor Albert C. Ritchie of Maryland on federal subsidies to the states. This address was delivered before the seventh annual meeting of the Chamber held at Harrisburg on October 15. Governor Ritchie discussed the "fifty-fifty" system of federal aid which requires each state to match the federal appropriation in order to secure the money. He is opposed to such a system and has produced reasons and arguments to support his position. His conclusion is that "its whole tendency is to destroy the principle of local self-government, and so the system is indefensible as a governmental policy in this country."

In this connection, we should note what President Coolidge says on the same subject in his budget message to the present Congress. He states that the requirements in the 1926-27 budget for federal aid to the states are in excess

of \$110,000,000, about \$80,000,000 of which is for post roads. This latter amount, he says, does not constitute the entire obligation of the federal government under the existing law, but that \$116,700,000 more will be required to satisfy the law. Then he remarks:

Federal contributions to state highway construction was probably necessary in the beginning. It has expedited and so co-ordinated construction that all expenditures would be reflected in a definite and approved connecting highway system. On the other hand, there is no question but that federal contributions have materially added to state expenditures of state funds. . . . It is true that the necessity and demand for good roads are constantly increasing, but they should not be constructed faster than the taxpayers can afford to pay for them. The amount that taxpayers can afford to pay can best be determined by the citizens of each state.



**Highway Expenditures in the State of Washington.**—Governor Hartley of Washington in his message to the special session of the legislature, which met on November 9, said he was fully convinced that the time had come "to apply the brakes to highway expenditures" in that state. He went on to say that "the vast sum we are now expending annually far exceeds the wildest dream of the most ardent good-roads enthusiast of a few years ago." Then he reaches the argument that "the people want and demand improved highways," he answers in the following manner:

They want and clamor for improved highways for the same reason that my boy, seeing your boy with a new scooter, sets up a howl for one like it. Why shouldn't the people howl for highways, when we are taking their money by the millions and pouring it into the highway fund? Their demand, however, is the wheeze and gurgle of the bung of the old familiar pork barrel, rather than the voice of economic necessity. The quickest, best and most effective way to meet the people's demand for hard-surfaced joy roads, is to reduce the pot and leave the people's money with them for their own use and expenditure.

If the analysis of this public demand for good roads is carried far enough, it will be ascertained that it is but the echo of the clamor of the cement crowd, the material men, the machinery folk, the contractors, the automobile club secretaries, and the great army who are living off of, some of them growing wealthy from, highway construction.